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EDITED BY

SIR RICHARD CARNAC TEMPLE, Bt., C.B., C.I.E., F.B.A., F.S.A.,
HON. FELLOW, TRIN. HALL, CAMBRIDGE,

FORMERLY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL, INDIAN ARMY,

CHARLES E. A. W. OLDHAM, C.S.I.,
FORMERLY OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE,

PROF. RAO BAHADUR S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., (HONY.) PH.D.
HONORARY CORRESPONDENT, ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA,

AND

PROF. DEVADATTA RAMKRISHNA BHANDARKAR, M.A., (HONY.) PH.D.,
F.A.S.B.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

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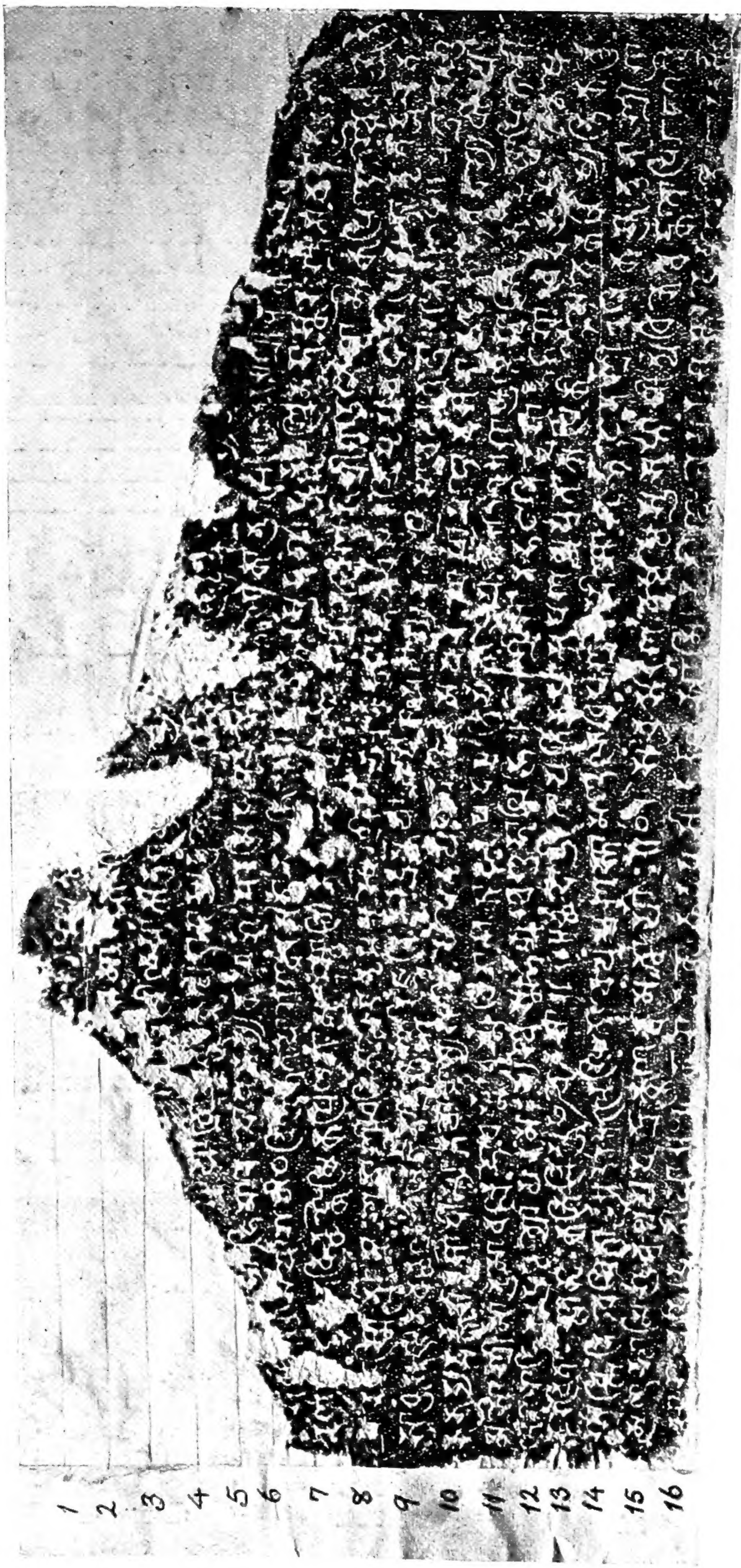
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NASÚN INSCRIPTION OF ÍŚANABHATA, V. S. 887.

Note.—Scale 11/20 ths of original.

NĀSŪN INSCRIPTION OF ĪŚĀNABHAṬA OF VIKRAMA SAMVAT 887.

By R. R. HALDER.

THIS fragmentary inscription, engraved on the back of the lower part of a broken image, was found at Nāsūn in Kharwā estate in Ajmer-Merwāra by Thākur Gopālasīnha of Kharwā, who presented it to the Rājputānā Museum, Ajmer. It was noticed in the *Annual Report* of the Museum for the year 1920-21.

The inscription consists of 16 lines, comprising twenty verses followed by nearly three lines of prose at the end. The upper part of the stone being broken and its surface having peeled off at several places, much of the writing has been lost, and the letters here and there are indistinct.

The **characters** are of the northern type of alphabet, generally known as *Kuṭila lipi*, and belonging to the ninth century A.D. They include some letters which are generally found in inscriptions of earlier date. For instance, ङ of वीङ in l. 6 ; च्छ of च्छदू and च्छदो in ll. 7 and 13, respectively ; य of वेतो in l. 11 ; ङ of नङ in l. 12 ; ह of हीना in l. 13 ; ञ of नञ in l. 16, etc., show their earlier forms. The subscript *u* and *ū* are written in different ways, as in °नुकपी (l. 5), °युता (l. 13) and पूर्व° (l. 6), इरतः (l. 8), etc. Similarly, ग is written differently, as in गुभा° (l. 12), °दीशान° (l. 14), and °गते° (l. 15). The numerical symbol for 7 in 17 (l. 11) and in 887 (l. 15) is also worthy of note.

The **language** is Sanskrit with some occasional mistakes, which are shown in the footnotes accompanying the text. In respect of **orthography** the following may be noted :—

Consonants are doubled (1) with a superscript *r*, as in °विनिर्गर्त° (l. 6), °रर्क° (l. 10), निर्देश° (l. 12), etc.; (2) with a subscript *r*, as in तत्रा (l. 9), यत्रा° (l. 9), यदत्र (l. 15), etc. वृ is used for वि in वृयंवर° (l. 8), *Anusvāra* is used for nasals in °कपी (l. 5), च्छदो (l. 13), नमन्वा° (l. 15), etc. Other mistakes and irregularities are pointed out in the footnotes accompanying the text.

The contents of the inscription may be thus summarised :—

After the first fifteen verses, the meaning of which is not clear (the verses being incomplete), the inscription records the name of Īśānabhaṭa as the son of Dhanika in verse 16. Verse 17 eulogises the god Śiva, while the next verse informs us that the image of Nīlalohita (Śiva) was set up by the *guru* (preceptor) Gāmuṇḍasvāmī. In verse 19 we are told that the verses were composed by Kṛṣṇa, son of Bhaṭṭa Govinda, by the order of Īśānabhaṭa. In the prose lines at the end, we are informed that this *Prasasti* was written by the chieftain **Īśānabhaṭa**, son of **Dhanika**, for the sake of his *guru* Gāmuṇḍasvāmī; that the idol was caused to be made by the monk Jajjasvāmī, and that the inscription was engraved by Deddaṭa, son of Atiga-nādita. The prose portion (l. 15) also contains the **date** as the second day of the dark half of Vaiśākha, **samvat 887**, corresponding to the 4th April 830 A.D.

The year is given in words as well as in symbols.

The inscription records the installation of an image of Śiva by Gāmuṇḍasvāmī. It has also some historical interest in that it mentions the name of the chieftain Īśānabhaṭa, son of Dhanika. Now, the date of Dhanika, according to this inscription, may be placed about Samvat 867 (A.D. 810), if a rule of twenty years be assigned to Īśānabhaṭa. This date of Dhanika agrees with that of the Guhila chief Dhanika ruling at Dhavagartā (Dhōr in the Jāhāzpur district of the Udaipur State) and mentioned in the Dabōk inscription¹ of Dhavalappadeva, dated Harṣa Samvat 207 (A.D. 813). Thus, from these two inscriptions it would appear that the two Dhanikas are identical and that this chieftain ruled over that part of the country which extended from Nāsūn (the findspot of this inscription) to Dhōr. Another ruler named Dhanika, belonging to the Guhila family, is mentioned in the Chātsū inscription¹ of Bālāditya, in which, as opposed to the present inscription, he is said to be the great-grandson of Īśānabhaṭa. He, therefore, appears to be a different person from the Dhanika of this record, who is said to be the father of Īśānabhaṭa. Again, from the Chātsū inscription we know that

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, p. 11.

Dhanika mentioned therein was the fifth predecessor of Harṣarāja, who was contemporary² with the imperial Pratihāra King Bhoja (V. S. 900-38, A.D. 843-81) of Kanauj. His date will therefore, fall about S. 820 (A.D. 763), if an average rule of twenty years be assigned to each of his successors. Thus from the dates as well as from the genealogies given in two inscriptions (Châṭsū and the present), it is probable that these two Dhanikas were different persons and flourished at different periods, though they may both have belonged to the Guhila family. Similarly, it might be shown that there were different Īśānabhaṭas.

It will be seen, moreover, from the above that the Guhilas, besides their main branch ruling at Nâgdâ, Âhâḍa (Âghâṭa) and Chitor, etc., were also in control of the territory extending from Châṭsū in Jaipur State to Dhôṛ in Mewâr, most probably in subordination to the imperial Pratihâras of Kanauj, who at the period in question held sway over nearly the whole of Râjpûtânâ.

*Text.*³

1. — — — — — प्रशान्त — — — — —
2. — — — — — समा — त — — — — —
3. — — — — प — लीलया अनुग्र — — प्य — — — — —
4. — — — — — ता याति व — क्ष — दातास्य भुंक्तो — तिव स्य — — — — —
5. स्याभिमानः⁴ दोषमस्यैकमाहुः परमिह यदसौ [सर्व] लोकानुकंपी ॥ १५ ॥ श्रीवक्त्र प —
6. गा [मुण्ड] स्वामियोगपीठविनिर्गतयोगेश्वरं मत्वा न — क्षि — : उत्तरसुभगा !
पूर्वपश्चिमभास्करः श्रीश्रवदातः — —
7. रण — द्व — त ⁵विच्छद्गौषिकपिण्डगामुण्डस्वामिनं श्री — — श्वर श्री — — श्वरी
श्रीगाण्डस्वाम्येकपिण्डश्चैकमूर्ति [२] —
8. परे तस्मिन्लज्जिनाः श्रुत्वा श्रीधनिकात्मजो नृप असौ श्रीशान पूर्वोभटः ।
⁶भर्तृधर्मरुचि ⁷पृथ्वदमपि त्यक्तानृतं दूरतः
9. ⁸साधुं सज्जनवच्छजं⁹ खलजनवृत्तं¹⁰ शुचि ज्ञानिनं । द्रष्टव्या¹¹ पाद [द्व] ¹²य तस्य
न मतिस्ताव [त्स] ¹³तत्ताः गतः ॥ १६ ॥ यत्तास्ते गु —
10. रु ह्यदर्कसदृशो दीप्त्या न चोष्णास्य सा निःशेषे नृपः — — म परः
पापापहो दर्शना — — — भवदस्य धीरय —
11. मसौ श्रीमानुमावल्लभः धर्माधर्मविनाशकापर पद ¹⁴प्रातिर्यतो जायते ॥ १७ ॥
गामुण्डस्वामिगुरुणा स्थापितो नी —
12. जलोहितः । द्रष्टव्योयं ¹⁵नमःस्यश्च स्मर्तव्यश्च शुभार्थिभिः ¹⁶॥ १८ ॥
श्रीशानभटनिर्देशाद्भट्टगोविन्दसूनुना कृष्णे —
13. न रचिताः श्लोकाः कतिचिन्मूढचेतसा ॥ २० ॥¹⁷ ¹⁸च्छंदोहीना याति भ्रष्टा
¹⁹अपश्ययुता अपि कीर्तिमेते करिष्यन्ति कर्तुं —
14. ग्रीष्मिण निवेशिताः ॥ २१ ॥²⁰ लेखिता चैयं प्रशस्ता मण्डलाधिप श्रीमदीशान —
भटेन श्रीधनिकसूनुना श्रीगा —
15. मुण्डस्वामिगुर्वर्थे यदत्त ²¹क्षुण्णं क्षमत्वार्याः²² ॥ ० ॥ संवत्सरशतेष्वष्टसु
सप्ताशीत्यधिकष्वङ्गतोपि ८८७ वै —
16. शाख वदि द्वितीया ॥ ० ॥ ²³कारावकोत्त ²⁴तपसीजज्जस्वामि । उत्कीरणा²⁵
चैयं प्रशस्ता²⁶ देहटेनातिगणादितसूतेन [॥]²⁶

² Ep. Ind., vol. XII, p. 12.

⁴ Read भर्तृधर्म°.

¹⁰ Read °वृत्तं.

¹⁴ Read °प्रातिर्यतो.

¹⁸ Read छन्दो°.

Read क्षाम्यन्त्वार्याः

²⁶ Read सूतेन.

³ From the stone.

⁷ Read प्रियं°.

¹¹ Read दृष्ट्या.

¹⁵ Read नमस्यश्च.

¹⁹ Read °गद्व°.

²³ Read कारापको°.

⁴ Read मानो°.

⁸ Read साधुं.

¹² Read °द्वय.

¹⁶ Read १८.

²⁰ Read २०.

²⁴ Read तपस्वी°.

⁵ Read विच्छद्गौषिक°.

⁹ Read °वत्सलं.

¹³ Read तत्रा गतः

¹⁷ Read १९.

²¹ Read क्षुण्ण.

²⁵ Read उत्कीर्णा.

BENGAL'S CONTRIBUTION TO PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT.

By CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

(Continued from vol. LVIII, p. 233.)

Vaiṣṇavism.

Every religion is found to have a philosophical system of its own on the basis of which the doctrines and tenets peculiar to it should be explained. And Neo-Vaiṣṇavism of Bengal was not an exception to this rule. It also evolved a full-fledged philosophy of its own, which, in course of time, came to be known as Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇava philosophy. This is properly a sub-school of Vedānta, being based primarily on the Madhva system, though it was influenced by the Nimbārka and Ballabha schools as well. But it differs in some points at least from the system of Madhva. Thus, according to the latter, the object of adoration is Viṣṇu alone, no divinity being ascribed to his consort Lakṣmī. But according to the Gauḍīya school, Viṣṇu together with his consort should be worshipped. Devotion in conjunction with action, assert the Mādhvas, leads to salvation. Devotion, pure and unmixed, is the cause of salvation—this is the view of the school of Caitanya. According to the school of Madhva, salvation can be attained by Brāhmaṇ devotees alone, but the Gauḍīya school is more liberal and asserts the equal right of all, irrespective of any distinction of caste, to that supreme goal of life. The most prominent distinguishing features of the Bengal school of Vaiṣṇavism are (1) the doctrine of *Acintya-bhedābheda* (incomprehensible difference—non-difference), (2) prominence given to *vṛndāvanalīlā* of Kṛṣṇa, in contradistinction to the different Vaiṣṇava schools of the South.

The work which the followers of this school regard as the most important and authoritative is the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*. This Purāṇa, they suppose, was composed to elucidate the Vedānta sūtras and is regarded by them as *the commentary* on the said sūtras. Thus the major portion of the philosophical works of this school is covered by direct commentaries on the Bhāgavata and by independent works composed to elucidate and systematically present the views of it. Of direct commentaries mention may be made of the works of Sanātana, Jīva, Viśvanātha, Baladeva. Besides these, the *Bṛhad-bhāgavatāmṛta* of Sanātana and *Laghu-bhāgavatāmṛta* of Rūpa, which is an abridgement of the former, deal with the teachings of the Bhāgavata.

The most important, popular and scholarly work that sets forth in detail the philosophy of the Bhāgavata is the *Bhāgavata°* or *Śaṭ-sandarbha* of Jīva Gosvāmin (Ed. by Syamalal Gosvamin, Calcutta). It consists of six books, viz., *Tattvasandarbha*, *Bhāgavata°*, *Paramātma°*, *Śrīkṛṣṇa°*, *Bhakti°* and *Prīti°*. The present work is stated to have been based on a work of Gopāla Bhaṭṭa, the famous disciple of Caitanya, which appears to have been fragmentary and incomplete. An abridgement of this voluminous work, presumably by the author himself, is the *Sārasaṃgraha* (CS., X, p. 96).

But works on the Bhāgavata alone could secure no recognition for the Bengal Vaiṣṇavas among those of other provinces, for a school was required to have commentaries on the Vedānta sūtras, the *Bhagavad-gītā* and *Upaniṣads* to entitle itself to that recognition. And, it is told, that it was to win that recognition for this school that Baladeva Vidyābhūṣaṇa composed a commentary on the *Vedānta-sūtra*, called the *Govindabhāṣya* (Purana Karyalaya, Calcutta—1301 B.S.). This embodies the doctrines peculiar to the system. Baladeva flourished sometime in the middle of the eighteenth century. Thus possibly he was chronologically about the last among the host of scholars who, from time to time, commented on that highly popular work—the *Vedānta-sūtras*. But this was not the only work that Baladeva composed. Like Rūpa and Jīva, he was a polymath, writing on a variety of subjects—philosophy, rhetoric, prosody, etc. Other philosophical works composed by him were:—(1) Commentary on the *Bhagavad-gītā* (published by the Gauḍīya maṭha, Calcutta), (2) Commentary on the ten *upaniṣads*, *Īśa*, *Kena*, *Kaṭha*, *Praśna*, *Muṇḍaka*, *Māṇḍukya*, *Aitareya*, *Tait-*

tirīya, *Cchândogya* and *Bṛhadâraṇyaka*, (3) *Siddhântaratna* or *Bhâṣya-pīṭhaka* (Saraswati Bhavan Series), (4) *Prameya-ratnâvalī* (S.S.P. Series), an elementary treatise on the Vaiṣṇava philosophy of Bengal. This work follows the school of Madhva *in toto*, as is indicated by the author in the introductory portions of his work. (5) *Vedânta-syamantaka*, which seems to deal with the elements of the Vedânta philosophy.

It was probably about the time of Baladeva that Anûpa-nârâyana Śiromaṇi, who was apparently a follower of the school of Caitanya, wrote a gloss entitled *Samañjasâvṛtti*¹⁶ on the *Vedânta-sûtra*. At the end of his work he dedicates it to Caitanya and refers to Rûpa and Svarûpa in respectful terms. But as he was not one of the recognised *gosvâmins* held in high respect by the Vaiṣṇavas, his work is little known.

Similar fate seems to have attended other works also which were composed from time to time. Of these, reference may be made to the *Tattvadîpikâ*—a short Vaiṣṇava treatise of great interest by Vâsudeva Sârvabhauma, the great Naiyâyika and teacher of Caitanya (Saraswati Bhavan Series—vol. IV, p. 68).

Buddhism.

Traces of Buddhist Culture in Bengal.

Bengal was pre-eminently a land of Buddhism, at least before the revival of Brâhmanism took place finally during the Sena rule, though previous attempts to consolidate Brâhmanism are traditionally believed to have been made by kings like Âdiśûra and Śyâmalavarman. The Chinese pilgrims refer to Buddhist monasteries in different parts of Bengal, which were all centres of Buddhist culture. She lived under the rule of Buddhist kings—the Pâlas—for several centuries together. Bengal produced fine Buddhist icons and some of the greatest Buddhist scholars whose names are known far and wide. Though from about the eighth century most of these scholars of Bengal had their field of activity outside Bengal in the universities of Nâlandâ, Vikramaśilâ, and sometime in far-off Tibet, there can be no gainsaying the fact that there were centres of Buddhistic culture in Bengal as well up to a fairly late period. The Mahâ-vihâra of Jagaddala, the locality of which is not yet known, but which is believed to have been somewhere in Bengal, is even supposed to have been to Bengal what Nâlandâ was to Magadha (JBORS., 1919, p. 508). Buddhistic works were studied and copied here as in other *vihâras*. And we know of two Buddhistic works copied in Bengal during the reign of Harivarmadeva (*circa* eleventh century). These are *Aṣṭasâhasrikâ-prajñâ-pâramitâ* (R. D. Banerji—*Baṅglâr Itihâsa*—2nd ed., p. 304), and *Laghukâlacakrâṅkâ* (A.S.B.—I., No. 67). The latter work, as is recorded in the manuscript itself, seems to have been recited on the banks of the river Veng in Jessore for five times. It was under the Sena rule that Brâhmanism strongly asserted itself in Bengal at the instance of Ballâlasena, who is supposed to have reorganised Hindu Society in Bengal in its entirety and placed Brâhmanism on a solid foundation. But there is evidence of Buddhist culture in Bengal as late as the fifteenth century, if not later, when a manuscript of the *Bodhicaryâvatâra* of Śântideva was copied at Venugrâma in 1492 V. S. (A.S.B.—I., 19).

And it seems that, in spite of the efforts of Sena kings and those that followed them, Buddhism lingered on in some form or other difficult to be distinguished from the more popular Brâhmanism. And this has been shown by Mm. H. P. Shastri in his '*Discovery of Living Buddhism in Bengal.*'

Bengal's Contribution to Buddhist Literature.

Old Buddhist works would naturally be expected to be found in plenty in this land of Buddhism. But curious though it may seem, that is far from the actual state of things. Very few Buddhist works of Bengal are known to have been found in their Sanskrit original, and even those that have been found were discovered in places that were far from Bengal—in

¹⁶ A manuscript of the work is in the S. S. P.

Nepal for instance. It was in Nepal also that the Buddhist works copied in Bengal were found. A good many works, however, fortunately for us, are preserved in their translations, in Tibetan in which the locality of the authors is found to have been mentioned in many cases.

Candragomin.

The earliest Bengali Buddhist scholar of whom we know anything was perhaps Candragomin, who belonged to the school of Asaṅga. He is stated to have been a grammarian, philosopher and poet, and enjoyed high renown in the Buddhist literary world. He is supposed to have flourished sometime about the fifth or sixth century of the Christian era (Nariman—*Lit. Hist. of Sans. Buddhism*, p. 100). It is known from Tibetan records that he was born in Varendrî in Bengal (Târânâtha—pp. 148 ff., 159 ff., *Dpag-bsam-ljon-bzan*—S. C. Das—p. 95, 139).¹⁷ Several works of his are known. Of these, *Śiṣyalekhâ-dharma-kâvya*, which is in the form of an epistle by the author to his disciple, propounds the Buddhist doctrine in elegant *kâvya* style (Nariman—*loc. cit.*). We know at least two more works composed by him. Of these, *Lokânanda*, which exists in a Tibetan version alone, is a drama (*Sanskrit Drama*, Keith, p. 168), and *Cândra-vyâkaraṇa* (edited by Dr. Bruno Liech—Leipzig, 1902) is an independent original grammar.

Śilabhadra.

After him probably came Śilabhadra, the teacher of the great Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang. He is stated to have been the author of several well-known treatises (*On Yuan Chwang*—Watters—vol. II, p. 109, 165). But unfortunately none of his works are known to have survived. Some of his works are preserved in their Chinese translations.

Śântideva.

After Śilabhadra we may mention Śântideva, who is supposed to have written sometime between 648 to 816 A.D. (H. P. Shastri—*Bauddha-gâna-o-dohâ*—Introd., p. 23). In the Tanjur his home is stated to have been in Zahore, which has been sought to be identified with a small village called Sâbhâr in the District of Dacca (see under Śântarakṣita *infra*). The Tibetan writer Târânâtha, however, in his *History of Buddhism* assigns him to Śurâṣṭra. But Mr. H. P. Sastri is inclined to take him to be a Bengali, one ground for this, among several others, being that one of his works contains passages in Bengali (JBORS., 1919, p. 502-3). Śântideva was a great and well-known scholar of Buddhism. Some of his works deal with Buddhist Tantra. Two of his works—*Śikṣâ-samuccaya* (Ed. by Bendall—*Bibliotheca Buddhica*—St. Petersburg, 1897) and *Bodhicaryâvatâra* (*Bib. Ind.*)—have been published.

Śântarakṣita.

The next name is that of Śântarakṣita, who was a great scholar of Buddhism of his time and was the High Priest of the monastery of Nâlandâ. His fame travelled beyond the limits of India, and he was invited by the king of Tibet to preach Buddhism in the land of snow. In compliance with this invitation, Śântarakṣita proceeded to Tibet and was fully successful in his great mission. In fact it was Śântarakṣita who first laid the foundation of Buddhism in the land where Bon fetishism was the prevalent faith. It is, however, a matter for great regret that we get no light about his life and works from any Indian source. All that is preserved of him is in Tibetan. He is called Śântarakṣita, Śântirakṣita and Âcârya Bodhi-sattva in Tibetan. Details about his life-story as contained in Tibetan works were collected by that great Tibetan scholar, S. C. Das, in vol. I of *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society* where he definitely calls Śântarakṣita an inhabitant of Gauda, and also by Dr. S. C. Vidyabhusana in his *History of Indian Logic* (p. 323). The latter work represents him as having descended from the royal family of Zahore, which has been identified on phonetic grounds with the small village of Sâbhâr in the district of Dacca (Bengal), where ruins of old palaces and other

¹⁷ I am indebted for these references to Drs. N. P. Chakravarti and P. C. Bagchi of the Calcutta University.

objects testifying to its antiquity and splendour have been found. (B. Bhattacharya—Foreword to *Tattvasaṅgraha*, p. xiii.) The locality was no doubt a centre of Buddhism. It was about this region that the great Buddhist scholar, Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna, was born, and many Buddhist Tāntrik images are said to have been found there.

As regards the time when Śānta flourished, we are informed by Tibetan works that he erected the monastery of Sam-ye in Tibet in the year 749 A.D., and that he died there in 762 A.D. Thus he lived in the first half of the eighth century of the Christian era.

As has already been stated, he was a great scholar. He was well-versed not only in the texts of Mahāyāna Buddhism, but also in different systems of Indian philosophy, which he quotes and refutes in his monumental work *Tattvasaṅgraha* (Gackwad's Oriental Series). This work gives a brilliant exposition of Mahāyāna Buddhism in relation to other systems of Indian philosophy, of which the shallowness is sought to be established. He wrote a good many works, of which very few have been preserved in their Sanskrit original. The only works of which the Sanskrit originals are known to exist are two, *Tattvasaṅgraha* and *Tattvasiddhi*. Besides these, he wrote several other works which are available now only in their Tibetan translations. Eight of these are mentioned by Mr. Bhattacharya (*op. cit.*, pp. xx, xxi). It will be noticed that most of these works related to Buddhist Tantra.

Jetāri.

Next in chronological order would probably be Jetāri, whose father was a Brāhmaṇ named Garbhapāda, who lived in Varendrī at the court of Rāja Sanātana, a vassal of the Pāla kings. The famous Dīpaṅkara (born in 980 A.D.), when very young, is said to have been sent by his parents for education to Jetāri. King Mahāpāla (who ruled up to 940 A.D.) is said to have conferred on him the title of *Paṇḍita* of the University of Vikramaśilā. He thus seems to have flourished in the beginning of the tenth century. He was the author of three works on Buddhist Logic, which are found in their Tibetan translations.¹⁸

Dīpaṅkara.

Now we come to Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna, who, as has already been stated, was a pupil of Jetāri in his early years. He is also known by the name of Atīśa. Nothing definite is known of him from any Indian source. We are fortunate in getting a fairly detailed account of his life and works in Tibetan works, on which was based the long and informing account of him given in the *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, vol. I, p. 9 ff. From the latter we know that Dīpaṅkara was born in 980 A.D. in the royal family of Gauda at Vikramapura in Baṅgala. His father was Kalyāṇa Śrī, and his mother Prabhāvatī. He probably belonged to the same Kṣatriya race from which Śāntarakṣita had hailed. His name before his initiation was Candragarbha. At a comparatively young age he became a great scholar, versed equally in Brāhmaṇic and Buddhist lore. As a reward for his great scholarship he was made the High Priest of the monastery of Vikramaśilā. At the repeated invitation of the king of Tibet he went to that 'forbidden land' to reform the Buddhism of Tibet, which had much degenerated at that time. He worked hard for the regeneration of Tibetan Buddhism and met with his death at the ripe old age of seventy-three in 1053 A.D. at a place in Tibet near Lhasa, far away from his native land. He is still held in high respect all over Tibet and has almost been deified therein. He wrote a good many works, none of which, however, are known to exist in their Sanskrit original. Twenty works of his, of which the translations are found in the Tibetan Tangur, have been mentioned by S. C. Das in his article already referred to.

Ratnākara Śānti.

Ratnākara Śānti flourished sometime about the tenth century. He may be identical with Śānti, two of whose songs in Bengali are known to have come down (*Bauddha-gāna-odohā*—H.P.S., Intro., p. 28). He was the author of a good many Buddhist works, of which

¹⁸ The account of Jetāri is based on that of Dr. S. C. Vidyabhusana, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

several belong to Buddhist Tantra, while two of his works on Buddhist logic are known (*Ibid.*—Appendix on list of Buddhist Tantra works, S. C. Vidyabhusana—*op. cit.*, p. 343).

Luipāda.

Another Buddhist scholar who has almost been deified and held in high respect, not only in some parts of Bengal but also in Mayurbhanj, Nepal and Tibet, is definitely called a Bengali in the Tanjur. He is stated to have been assisted in his *Abhisamaya-vibhāṅga* by Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna (H. P. Shastri, *op. cit.*—Intro., p. 15). He thus seems to have flourished about the middle of the tenth century. His connection with Bengal is definitely referred to in the Tanjur. He was the author of several Buddhist Tāntrika works, which are found in the Tanjur.

Rāmacandra.

We may next mention another Bengali scholar, whose field of activity was in Ceylon, where his name is still held in great honour. His name is Rāmacandra Kavibhāratī, on whom was conferred the dignified title of Bauddhāgama-Cakravartī by Parākramabāhu, the then ruling king of Ceylon. Fortunately for us he has left behind much useful personal account in his works. In the colophon of his works he calls himself *Gauḍa-deśīya* (one who belongs to the Gauḍa land) and once at least *Sad-Gauḍa* (a respected Bengali). In the concluding verses of his *Vṛttaratnākara-pañcikā* he refers to Rāhula—the celebrated Buddhist scholar of Ceylon—as his teacher through whose teachings he embraced Buddhism. Even before his conversion he seems to have been a great scholar and was proficient in Tarka, Vyākaraṇa, Śruti, Smṛti, Mahākāvya, Āgama, Alaṅkāra, Chandaḥ, Jyotiṣa and Nāṭaka. He hailed, as he himself says, from the village of Vīravatī, the present location of which is not known. His father was Gaṇapati and his mother Devi. He refers to two of his younger brothers—Halāyudha and Āṅgīrasa. His time is approximately known from the date of composition of his *Vṛttaratnākara-pañcikā*, which was 1999 Buddha era, or 1245 A.D.

A fact that is important from the view point of social history is that in all his works he calls himself both a follower of Buddhism and a Brāhmaṇ (*bhūsurā, dharaṇī-devaḥ, kṣitī-surah*). It should be noted that even Maṅgalamuni, who translated Rāmacandra's *Bhakti-śataka* into Sinhalese, calls him a *dvija*.

Three works of Rāmacandra are known :—

1. *Bhakti-śataka*, which is in 107 beautiful verses, praises Buddha and Buddhism (published in Nāgarī by the Buddhist Text Society—1896, also in Sinhalese characters by M. P. Ekarayaka, Bharati Press, Colombo). 2. *Vṛttamālā*—a work on prosody, which incidentally gives an account of the celebrated monk Mahānetraprasāda (M. P. Ekarayaka, Bharati Press, Colombo). 3. *Vṛttaratnākara-pañcikā*—a commentary on the well-known work on prosody, the *Vṛttaratnākara* of Kedārabhaṭṭa (Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay).¹⁹

Some less known Buddhist Authors.

There were some other scholars also whose names are not as well-known as those mentioned above. The works of some of these are found in the Tanjur. We may mention the names of Vibhūticandra, Kṛṣṇācārya, Advayavajra, the last two of whom are known to have composed works in Bengali also (Mm. H. P. Shastri, *op. cit.*—Intro.; JBORS., 1919, p. 507-8). Besides these, one Pradjñāvarman, who wrote a commentary on the *Udānavarga*, is stated, in the introduction to the Tibetan translation of his work, to have hailed from Kāvā in Bhongala or Bhangala, which may not unlikely be identified with Bengal (Rockhill—*Udānavarga*, Intro., p. xii).

¹⁹ I am indebted to Prof. R. Siddhartha of the Ceylon University College for kindly supplying me with some valuable information regarding Rāmacandra's works and the place occupied by him in the estimation of the people of Ceylon.

A LIFE OF NAND RISHI.

BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL, PRESIDENT, SRINAGAR MUNICIPALITY. (Retired.)

(Continued from vol. LVIII, p. 224.)

The peon, on hearing this advice, repented and thenceforth desisted from troubling anyone.

A farmer named Sung once came to Nand Rishi and told him that he was dissatisfied with his past deeds and wanted to renounce the world and become one of his followers. Nand Rishi directed a disciple of his named Mung to make over to Sung the duties he was performing. For some time Sung performed these duties, and then took leave to go home to see his own family. At home his family were so pleased to have him back to live with them that they would not let him return to Nand Rishi. A long time thus elapsed. Nand Rishi once remembered him, remarking—

Av Sung tsel tsyung,

Nit bihenâvyâv Mungun vâs.

Asi zon bhuvi suna sund sung ;

Wuchhon hat, lach tah sâs.

Âsi he tâzi thavahon ukharas ;

Charbari gandahos baras sati.

Chhuh nah tâzi, samih nah kharas :

Din doh bhari gharas satî.

Sung came, the heart was glad,

We kept him in Mung's place.

We thought he would become a golden weight ;

We shall see him outweigh a hundred, a thousand and a lakh.

Had he been a steed we would have kept him in the stable ;

We would have tied him with ropes attached to the door.

He is not a steed, not even an ass ;

He will spend his days at home.

When Sung heard that Nand Rishi was remembering him, he left his home and returned to his preceptor, to whom he remained devoted until his death.

A number of men once came to see Nand Rishi and hinted at his belonging to a low caste of watchers. Nand Rishi remarked :—

Push-dyul avazot :

Kheyas nah gur gupun tah gâv.

Suh yclih shâhas sheri wot,

Suh avazot drenth katih âv !

The flower-seller's *dyul* (grass with which a bouquet is tied) is of low birth :

Neither pony, nor cattle, nor cow will eat it.

When it reached the head of the king

Where did it [then] appear of low birth ?

Nand Rishi was once going through a forest, where he saw a number of men pretending to meditate on God, but living in ease and comfort and having no true love of Him. He rebuked them in the following words :—

Kali-yugi ghara ghara Rishi lâgan.

Yitha pâtar lâgan rangân.

Nish-budh atyant wâni lâgan ;

Wawan nah muth kapas tah ann ;

Akrut khenas tsûran ulgan ;

Lukan tatih tah lagan wan.

The people of the *Kali-yuga* [iron age] in every house will pretend to be *rishis* [saints],

As a prostitute does at dancing [she sings morality].

They will pretend to be innocent and extremely gentle ;

They will not sow beans, cotton-seeds and grains (i.e., earn their bread by honest labour) ;

They will excel thieves in living by unlawful means ;

To hide themselves they will repair to a forest.

He further attacked hypocrisy in these words :—

Paran penah sati Rishi no banak—

Yandar-muhuli tul nah kala thud zâh.

Guphi atsanah Dai no labak—

Nûl tah gagur drâi nah wâjih manzah zâh.

Shrânau sati manah no shrotsak—

Gâd tah wudur buh khati nah zâh.

Upas dinah sati Dai yud toshihe

Drâidan leli wai ladun nah zâh.

By bowing down, thou shalt not become a rishi—

The pounder in the rice-mill did not ever raise up its head.

By entering a cave, God cannot be attained—

The mongoose and rat never come out of their holes.

By bathing, the mind will not be cleansed—

The fish and otter never ascend the bank.

If God were pleased by fasting

The indigent had never cooked food in the pot [in his own house].

A similar saying is found in Bâwâ Nânak's teachings :—

Kâm gâle sidh sâdh ; khwâja khasiyân.

Dudh piwe sidh sâdh ; bâlak bachhyân.

Tan nâwe sidh sâdh ; mendak machhyân.

Nânak ! sat samvâd, so gal achhyân.

A saint may subdue desire ; [it is extinct in] eunuchs.

A saint may drink milk ; [it is done by] infants and calves.

A saint may wash his body ; [it is done by] frogs and fish.

Nânak ! speak the truth. Those words are good.

Once Nand Rishi saw a hypocritical priest at a mosque twirling a rosary in his hand, who took six platefuls of rice, which were brought to him by six different persons at different times, to each of whom he said he had had no food at all that day. He then rebuked him thus :—

Tasbih châni chhem gunasâ hisho ;

Murîd dîshit karân kham.

Sheh chinih ketham hisham hisho ;

Tsah ai pîr tah rahzan kam ?

Thy rosary is like a snake ;

Thou bendest it on seeing the disciples.

Thou hast eaten six platefuls, one like another ;

If thou art a priest, then who are robbers ?

In regard to dislikes, which man or beast naturally have, Nand Rishi remarked :—

Gur, khar, wutsh âramas khare.

Watshis khare tsâm.

Nûsis drâidas potsh khare.

Nushi khare zâm.

Pony, ass and calf are disliked by the vegetable-grower.

The fleshy matter in the palate is disliked by the calf.

A guest is disliked by the vile wretch.

A husband's sister is disliked by the daughter-in-law.

Apropos of the proclivities of one's family members, Nand Rishi said :—

Kâr chhai makaz wan deodâras—

Tsatit kares guni lâdî.

Gubur chhui tâzi bacha âkhiratas—

Ladit palana karus swârî.

Boi chhui phal kul bakhtâwaras—

Piyas muhim tah kares yârî.

Rani chhai khani andar pitâras—

Wandas tah wathis kares yârî.

A daughter is like an axe to the forest of deodars—

It will fell it and make heaps of logs.

A son is like an Arabian colt in the world to come—

Thou canst put a saddle on him and ride.

A brother is like a fruit tree to a lucky person—

When there be need it will provide help.

The wife is like a quilt in a basket—

It will be of use in the winter and in the open.

War hajih mundare par nai âsihe ;

Nushi nai âsihe hash tah zâm ;

Mugadamas patah nai phukadam âsihe ;

Gâmas tulihe shâmas tâm.

If there were not a mallet for [use upon] a knotted block of wood ;

If there were not a mother-in-law and sister-in-law to the daughter-in-law ;

If there were not an overseer [to look] after the *lambardâr* :

He would harass the village till evening.

On the vicissitudes of life, Nand Rishi lamented thus :—

Hânzanîh hânzan wulga pâzan ;

Handi bihan sabhan tah khash wâzan.

Sah atsan guphan tah shâl grazan ;

Hanîh mandorîh dolan gâsh paharen.

Boat-women will serve *wulga* (one of the best kinds of rice) to boatmen ;

The sheep will sit to dine, and the cooks will be slaughtered.

Tigers will enter the caves and jackals will howl ;

Castles will remain deserted, and huts will have light.

Runâh pâliki ari nakh dit tas ;

Akh chhas nah paramats takhta sipâr.

Trukhâh tâh karân tahandis rakhtas ;

Bakhtas budh chhai khitmatgâr.

A limbless [man] is being carried in a palankin by the able-bodied ;

He has not read a single section of the Qurân.

A clever man is folding his dress ;

In times of good fortune intelligence serves as a slave.

Lôlan handen timan robakhânan,

Jânan dapân âsi uhrinui gatsh.

Sundara dechham hûri wakhanan ;

Tsâmara sati âsah duwân laish.

Tatih meh az dîhim kapas ruwân.

Meh wuchh, Nasarah, tsah tih wuchhnih gaish.

In those glittering halls of lords,

The great were told to shrink back.

I saw pretty damsels singing songs there ;
 They were sweeping the dust with yaks' tails.
 There I now observed cotton being sown.
 I saw, O Nasar, thou mightest also go to see it.

Nasru'd-dîn was one of the four disciples of Nand Rishi, namely, Nasru'd-dîn (Autâr), Bâmu'd-dîn (Bhûm Sâdhu), Zainu'd-dîn (Zaya Singh) and Latifu'd-dîn (Âdit Raina).

Nasar Bâbâ, bozto gurah sandi walsan.
Sorah sandih wudih âsîh morah sund lâj ;
Velhah ârah hukhan henar grazan ;
Adah, ha mâlih, âsi wânder râj.

Nasar Bâbâ, listen to the word of your preceptor.
 The crest of the peacock will be on the head of a pig ;
 The Jehlam and its tributaries will dry up and the drains will roar ;
 Then, O father, will be the reign of monkeys.

Nand Rishi advised seeking good company and shunning the bad, contrasting the two in forcible terms. He shows that the rogue will wrong the good, attacking him with crooked words, if he is not careful.

Nunden satin doh din bharize—
Lagiyo shâh wulge kanz.
Badan satin zâh tih no phirze—
Atsizih nah tamanen bânan manz.

Spend thy days with the good—
 The *shâh wulga* [one of the best kinds of rice] will get pounded.
 Never go about with the wicked—

Do not walk close to pots covered with soot [else thou shalt get soiled].

On man's attempts to secure worldly objects, which, of course, result in disappointment, Nand Rishi observed :—

Sun trâvit sartalih riwum ;
Kartal phutram karimas drâti.
Doh lug darah tai bânbari pevum ;
Agun tshiwum bânah nah wâti.

I cast off gold and hankered after brass ;
 I broke a sword and made a sickle of it.
 The day began to end, and in haste I commenced to light a fire [on the hearth] ;

The flame went out, but the cooking pots were not ready.

In regard to the imperative necessity of devotion to God, Nand Rishi observed :—

Yin gharâh, gatshani gharâh ;
Kângarâ gatsham tapani kitsai.
Gura ! kun wâtah nah pilih nah narâh ;
Sat chham châni âkhir buh tsai.

There is a moment for coming [birth] and a moment for going [death]
 A moment I want for devotion.

O Preceptor ! I cannot reach anywhere nor can [my] arm reach thee ;
 I have faith in thee that I am thou after all.

Once Nand Rishi spoke about the futility of performing *namâz* without concentrating the mind on God :—

Puz yud bozak pânts numrak ;
Natah mâz ai numrak rachhi nah mâz ;

Shivas satin yalih myul karak ;

Sidhi tseh, Rishi Mâli, teli namâz.

If thou listeneth to truth, thou oughtest to subdue the five (senses, *i.e.*, passion, etc.) ;

If thou lowereth only thy fleshly body, the fleshly body will not save thee ;

If thou maketh union with Śiva,

Then only, O Rishi Mâli, will prayer avail thee.

A Persian poet has rendered the above in the following couplet :—

Sar-râ bazamîn chi mî-nihî bahr-i namâz ?

Ân-râ bazamîn binih ki dar sar dârî.

Why art thou bowing down thy head on the earth for the sake of praying ?

Bow down to earth that which is in thy head (*i.e.*, thy pride and arrogance).

In regard to natural disabilities, Nand Rishi once remarked :—

Dandah rust kyâh karih dûnis ?

Hûnis kyâh karih mukhtahâr ?

Run kyâh karih khunih kamâne ?

Un kyâh zâne padmâne ?

Of what use is a walnut to a toothless person ?

Of what use is a pearl necklace to a dog ?

Of what use is a bow to an elbowless person ?

Of what estimation is a pretty woman to a blind man ?

“ Come good, come evil, there is an end,” was the subject on which Nand Rishi once spoke to his favourite disciple, Nasar Bâbâ, as follows :—

I etha wâwas tan nani, suh tih dohâ, Nasaro.

Tun wugarah tah seni pani, suh tih dohâ, Nasaro.

Nishi rani tah wurani khani, suh tih dohâ, Nasaro.

Wurah batah tah gâlah gani, suh tih dohâ, Nasaro.

When the body was bared to the wind of the Jehlam, that day has passed, O Nasar.

When we had thin curry and unsalted vegetables only to eat, that day too has gone, O Nasar.

When the wife was near and warm clothing covered the bed, that day too has gone by, O Nasar.

When boiled rice and sliced fish were provided for us, that day also has passed, O Nasar.

Nand Rishi breathed his last at Rupawan village on 26th Ramazân (Shab-i-Qadr), *i.e.*, 26th Poh, 842 Hijra (1438 A.D.) at the age of 63 years, 1 month and 20 days. His body was carried to Tsrâr, and was buried on the mound called Nalla Teng. His funeral was attended by thousands of people, among whom was the then king of Kashmir, Zainu'l-âbidîn. Bâbâ Dâûd Khâkî, who was a highly learned man during the time of Ya'qûb Chak (1584 A.D.), wrote an epitaph in loving memory of Nand Rishi in Persian verse, which may be translated into English as follows :—

Shaikh Nûru'd-din Rishi, the preceptor of all *rishis*.

Was a good hermit and had much communion with God.

In addition to leading a retired and solitary life, he was also one of those in this world who keep fasts ;

He had given up eating flesh, honey, milk and onions for many years ;

He was a man of revelation and miracles and had a fine command of speech,

And he had no known spiritual guide, as a good-natured narrator has stated.

PERIODS IN INDIAN HISTORY.*

BY F. J. RICHARDS, M.A., I.C.S. (*Retired.*)

THE scheme submitted for discussion in the Indian Section of the Royal Anthropological Institute on January 19th, 1926, was to divide the historical period into three "Major" Divisions:—

1. Early, B.C. 600 to 300 A.D.
2. Medieval, 300 to 1500 A.D.
3. Modern, 1500 to 1900 A.D.

and to divide each of these into three "Minor" Periods.¹

Civilization is a "recurrent phenomenon" in India as elsewhere. There are periods of expansion and periods of shrinkage, of vigour and decay, of integration and disruption. The purpose of the discussion is not to supersede the periods already recognized by scholars and historians, but to correlate them with the ebb and flow of culture within India and beyond its borders. To this end dynastic terms such as "Sunga," "Andhra," "Indo-Greek" are unsuited, because they are applicable only to limited areas and are, in part, concurrent. Religious terms such as "Buddhist" or "Muhammadan" as applied to India are no more definite than the "Pagan," "Papal" or "Protestant" periods of Europe.² Even "Rajput," "Maratha," "Mughal" connote different periods in different areas. Terms are needed sufficiently elastic to cover accepted terminology in all areas. They should indicate *sequence*, and each period should stand in definite relation to those cycles of *fusion* and *fission* which make up Indian history.

I. Dynastic Periods.

The framework of Indian chronology is dynastic, and is based on the evidence of (1) inscriptions, (2) coins, (3) foreign writers, chiefly Græco-Roman, Moslem and Chinese. The adjustment of literary and archæological material to the dynastic chronology is largely conjectural. The so-called "Indo-Sumerian" culture of Harappa and other sites, and also most of the so-called "Vedic" Period are outside the scope of this discussion.

The propriety of the "Major" Periods suggested, opening with 600 B.C., 300 A.D. and 1500 A.D. (roughly parallel to the Cambridge History scheme of Ancient, Medieval and Modern) is not challenged. There is some difference of opinion, however, as to how these Periods should be subdivided.

For the *Early Period* the divisions suggested are—

- I. 600—300 B.C.
- II. 300—1 B.C.
- III. 1—300 A.D.

I. The Period 600—300 B.C. answers roughly to the Hellenic Period³ of Europe, the Achæmenid Empire of Persia (558-330) and the close of the Chou Dynasty (1122—249) in China. In N. India it covers the rise of Buddhism and Jainism and the gradual consolidation in the Lower Gangetic Plain of the Saisunâga Kingdom of Magadha, culminating in c. 320 B.C. in the establishment of the Mauryan Empire. Foreign influence is represented by the Persian conquest of the N.W. (512) and the invasion of Alexander (327-324).

II and III. The Period 300 B.C. to 300 A.D. covers the Hellenistic Period of Greece and the rise to imperial rank of Rome, the Tsin and Han Dynasties of China and that of the Parthian Arsacids in W. Asia. In N. India this Period falls into two phases:—

(1) The Mauryan Empire at its zenith under Asoka and its partition between (a) the Sungas, (b) the Andhras of the N. Deccan, (c) the Greeks from Bactria and (d) at a later stage the Sakas and Pahlavas from Iran.

* This scheme has been reproduced as submitted to the Indian Research Committee, R.A.I. (without diacritical marks).

¹ Many useful suggestions were offered in drawing up the scheme and in course of the discussion. These will be referred to as the points arise.

For brevity centuries are occasionally referred to by Roman numerals, with or (where the context permits) without the letters B.C. or A.D.

² Sind was "Muhammadan" in VIII A.D., South India was not "Muhammadan" even in XIII A.D.

³ More correctly, its zenith and decline; it began about 760 B.C.

(2) The rise and decline of the Kushan Empire in N.W. India and C. Asia, and the subsequent struggle between the Kushan Satraps and the Later Andhras.

The history of S. India in the Early Period is obscure, but two facts are certain; (1) in III B.C. Asoka was in touch with the three traditional Kingdoms of the South, Chera, Chola and Pandya; (2) in I A.D. Roman traders were busy in Malabar and the Tamil country, as numerous hoards of *denarii* and the *Periplus* testify.

Prof. Rapson suggests a slight re-adjustment of these subdivisions, viz. :—

“ I. 600—350 B.C., characterised by Persian dominion in N.W. India and a number of independent Kingdoms in the valley of the Jumna and Ganges.

“ II. 350—50 B.C., to include the extension of the Macedonian Empire to N.W. India and characterised by the subsequent rise of the Maurya Empire in India and the later Greek invasions.

“ III. 50 B.C.—300 A.D. Roughly from the Partho-Scythian Empire in N.W. India to the rise of the Gupta Empire.”

It is not very material whether “ Early I ” closes with 350 or 325 or 300 B.C. In any case the period 326—305 B.C. is a transitional phase in India, beginning with Alexander’s invasion and ending in Seleucus I Nicator’s treaty with Chandragupta, and the Maurya Empire is associated with Hellenistic rather than with Hellenic Greece, with the Seleucids rather than with Macedon.

On the other hand, Partho-Scythian rule marks a phase of disintegration; it is the Kushan epoch which was really formative. For the advent of the Kushans A.D. 50 is the most favoured date, but unfortunately this is not undisputed.⁴ The date 1 A.D. is suggested as a rough compromise.

As regards foreign contacts, the Mauryas were in touch with Mediterranean Greeks, the Kushans with Imperial Rome, but the main thrust came from China. In about 165 B.C. the Hiung-nu, foiled in their attempts on China, turned on their neighbours the Yuch-chi, and sent them hurtling across Asia to the Oxus valley. The impetus drove the “ Scythians ” on to the Bactrian Greeks and the Parthians, and nearly broke them (c. 138—123 B.C.). The last phase of the movement was the reconstruction of Yuch-chi power under the leadership of the Kushans. The Hans followed this up with the occupation of Turkestan and kept touch with the Yueh-chi till well into III A.D.⁵

For the *Medieval Period*⁶ the divisions suggested are—

I. 300—650 A.D.

II. 650⁷—1200 A.D.

III. 1200—1500 A.D.

I. The Period 300—650 A.D. corresponds roughly to the struggle between the Christian Roman Empire and the Persian Sassanids and the period of Chinese disintegration. The crucial event in Europe is the transfer of imperial headquarters from Rome to Constantinople, the beginning of that germanization of the Western Roman Empire which culminated in its destruction in 476 A.D. In N. India the period is divided into two phases by the Huna Invasion (c. 480—528 A.D.). It is commonly called the “ Gupta Period,” though in the later phase the Guptas cease to be imperial.⁸ The death of Harsha (647 A.D.) is, however, generally accepted as cardinal.

⁴ Some place Kanishka in I B.C., others in II A.D. ⁵ See Stein, *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, p. 385.

⁶ Exception has been taken by some to the term “ Medieval ”; but the term is in frequent use, though in different senses, e.g.,

(1) S. Lane-Poole, *Medieval India*, 720—1794 A.D.

(2) Prof. E. J. Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 147, 78—1000 A.D.

(3) J. Kennedy, *Imp. Gaz.* 2. 303, 650—1200 A.D.

(4) Sir John Marshall, *Guide to Sanchi*, p. 7, c. 350—1200.

⁷ The year 650 seems preferable to the year 750 proposed in the original scheme.

⁸ Fleet’s dating of the Imperial Guptas is challenged by Dr. Shama Sastry (*Arch. Rep. Mysore*, 1923, p. 23).

II. The Period 650—1200 covers the struggle between the Byzantine Empire and Islam, and the second great expansion of China under the T'ang Dynasty (618—907 A.D.), and the subsequent struggle with the "Tartars" (Khitan 937—1125, Kin 1127—1234). In N. India it answers to the "Rajput Period" (the "Hindu Period" of Kennedy⁹), a period of conflicting states centring round Harsha's capital, Kanauj. Three phases may be distinguished. They correspond roughly to the three phases of the Caliphate, (A) zenith, (B) decline, (C) subjection (to the Seljuks, etc.).

A. 650—800, during which the running was made in turn by Tibet, Kashmir, (Karkota or Naga Dynasty), and the earlier Palas of Bengal.

B. 800—1000, when the hegemony fell to the Pratiharas (or Parihars) of Bhinmal, to be challenged in turn by Rashtrakutas from the Deccan and Chandels from Mahoba, and broken by Mahmud of Ghazni.

C. 1000—1200, during which, the Ghaznavi cataclysm over, politics reverted to type, and power was fought for by Chandels, Palas, Paramaras of Malwa, Kalachuris of Chedi, Chalukyas of Gujarat, Senas of Bengal, Gaharwars of Benares and Chauhans of Delhi, till, in the last decade of XII A.D., the Ghorī armies made a clean sweep of Hindu sovereignty right up to the borders of Assam.

It has been suggested that the "Hindu Period" should end at 1000 A.D. But, though the phase 1000—1200 is a clear cut interlude between the Ghaznavi and Ghori invasions, in character it belongs to the period which preceded it and not to that which followed. Muhammadan influence dates from the Arab invasion of Sind (712) or earlier: the Ghaznavi raids, it is true, brought the Panjab under Muslim rule, but the rest of N. India went on as before; politically the period 650—1200 A.D. is of uniform type, the new epoch begins with Muhammad Ghori.

III. The Period 1200—1500 covers the closing epoch of the Roman Empire and Mongol dominion in Asia. There are two phases, the tide turning in about 1350, when the Mings ousted the Mongols from China (1368) and the Ottomans displaced them in the West. In N. India the Delhi Sultanate, too, presents two phases; the ebb set in with the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq (d. 1351) and the disruption of his empire into the Provincial Sultanates of Kashmir, Jaunpur, Bengal, Malwa, Gujarat, Khandesh, and the Deccan Bahmanis.

In S. India the Medieval Period is more coherent. Apart from minor dynasties, which need not here be discussed, interest, in the period 650—1200, centres in the Chalukyas (Solankis) of the W. Deccan. Their history falls into three phases:

A. 550—753, during which the Chalukyas ruled at Badami (in Dharwar District in the S. of the present Bombay Presidency), and founded an Eastern Branch at Vengi (in the Kistna-Godavari deltaic plain).

B. 753—973, when the W. Chalukyas were eclipsed by the Rashtrakutas.

C. 973—1200, when the W. Chalukyas re-established their power and ruled from Kalyani (in Bidar District, Hyderabad).

In the first phase the Chalukyas were pitted against the Pallavas of Conjeeveram, in the second the Rashtrakutas established themselves in Gujarat also and penetrated even to Kanauj; their suzerainty was recognized generally by the States of the South, but the E. Chalukyas held their own; in the third phase the W. Chalukyas also ruled in Gujarat but in the S. and E. their power was successfully challenged by the Tamil Cholas, who in the course of XI A.D. coalesced with the E. Chalukyas and even penetrated to the Ganges Valley.

Disruption set in towards the close of XII A.D.; from 1162 to 1183 the sovereignty was usurped by the Kalachuris; their dominions were divided between (1) the Yadavas in the N.W., (2) the Kakatiyas in the N.E. and (3) the Hoysalas in the S.W., while the Cholas were

⁹ *Imp. Gaz.* 2, p. 303.

hard pressed by their Pandya feudatories and only saved from extinction by the intervention of the Hoysalas.

The Period 1200—1500 thus opens with S. India divided between four warring States. These lasted till the beginning of XIV A.D., when the armies of Alâu'd-dîn Khaljî of Delhi broke them. Out of the wreckage arose the Empire of Vijayanagar which held the Kistna against the Bahmani Sultans till 1500 and after.

Correlations, historical and cultural, between N. and S. India have not received the attention they deserve ; events in the two areas are closely related. The Chalukyas and their successors in title had to fight on two fronts (North and South), and sometimes the East, too, was hostile. Pressure from the North meant weakness on the South front ; weakness in the North invited a northward move, or in the alternative, left them free to press southwards.

Thus in 620 A.D. the Chalukyas had to meet an invasion by Harsha, and this gave the Pallavas their opportunity ; they took it ; in 642 A.D. they captured Badami and the Chalukyas for a few years ceased to exist. Then Harsha died (647) and his empire crumbled ; the Chalukyas recovered and from 655 onwards the Pallavas were on the defensive : the date ±650 A.D. is the real turning point.

So too in 1350 A.D., when the disruption of the Tughlaq Empire enabled Vijayanagar to consolidate the South.

Another interesting feature of S. Indian history is the concurrent decadence of Chalukyas and Cholas in 1150—1200, a decline presumably born of prosperity. A like thing happened in the closing years of XV A.D. when both Vijayanagar and the Bahmanis were the prey of revolution. The Bahmani Empire split into five separate Sultanates. Vijayanagar recovered unity under its third and most famous dynasty.

The *Modern Period* from 1500 A.D. onwards covers the zenith and decline of the Ottoman Empire, the revival of Persia under the Safavids and of China under the Manchus, and the first serious intervention in world history of the States of W. Europe.

In India the Sultanates gave place to the Mughals, whose collapse led to the Great Anarchy of XVIII A.D., followed by the British Peace.

To recapitulate ; the epochs selected are—

1. EARLY :

- I. Pre-Maurya or Saisunaga.
- II. The Mauryan Empire and its dismemberment.
- III. The Kushans.

2. MEDIEVAL :

- I. The Gupta Empire and its disruption.
- II. The Rajput Period in the North and the Chalukyan Period in the South.
- III. The Delhi Sultanate, its expansion and decline.

3. MODERN : Mughal and European.

This scheme is more than “ dynastic ” ; it is a record of political growth and decay, and politics is a very vital branch of cultural history. The reflection of these vicissitudes on other branches of culture may be tested by a few examples.

II. Cultural Periods.

1. Language.

A. ARYAN :

Linguists recognise two periods in the evolution of Sanskrit, I “ Vedic ” and II “ Classical ” ; and three in the evolution of the vernaculars, (Prakrits) Primary, Secondary and Tertiary. (*Imp. Gaz.* i. 360).

The crystallization of the Vedic language into Sanskrit was completed some time in the period 600—300 B.C.¹⁰

¹⁰ The process of standardization presumably covered a considerable period, during which archaic and literary forms were used side by side. It culminated in the grammar of Panini to whom the date 350—300 B.C. is usually assigned, though some put him as early as 500 B.C.

The "Primary Prakrits" belong to the Vedic Period. The "Secondary Prakrits" cover the period 550 B.C. to 1000 A.D. The "Tertiary Prakrits" are the modern vernaculars. Their phonetic and grammatical evolution is parallel to that of the modern Romance languages from Latin.

Roughly speaking, for general purposes Prakrits dominate the Early Period. Sanskrit the Medieval Period and the modern vernaculars the Modern Period. The period 1—300 A.D. may be regarded as "transitional." Thus Prakrit was the language in which the Buddha and Mahavira preached, the Buddhist and Jain canons were compiled and Asoka's edicts engraved. Sanskrit, presumably, was the language of the learned few, and it is not till about 150 A.D. that it appears in public documents. Thence onward the use of Sanskrit grew apace, till under the Guptas it was recognized as the literary *lingua franca* of India. The effect on the vernaculars was unhappy; to evade the stigma of vulgarity they were sanskritized.

The supremacy of Sanskrit was not seriously challenged till the period 1200—1500 A.D., when modern vernaculars entered the field of literature; by the end of that period they were firmly established.

In the Modern Period yet another element was added under Mughal influence; W. Hindi, the vernacular of the Upper Gangetic Valley was persianized, and in the form of Hindostani became the *lingua franca* of all N. and C. India.

B. DRAVIDIAN:

The chief Dravidian languages of the South (Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese and Malayalam) preserved their identity throughout, though the vocabularies of all except Tamil became heavily sanskritized during the Medieval Period.

2. Script.

Two alphabets were used throughout the Early Period, viz. (1) Kharoshthi, (2) Brahmi.

Kharoshthi is of Aramaic origin and confined mainly to N.W. India (and C. Asia), and was probably introduced by the Persians; it lingered on till V A.D. but left no descendants. Brahmi, the parent of most Indian alphabets, is of Phoenician type, perhaps brought by traders from Mesopotamia.

Asoka used both scripts; so did the Kushans. Of Brahmi, Asoka used two varieties; in the break-up of the Mauryan Empire Asoka's North types were carried on by the Mathura Satraps and the Kushans, his South types by the Malwa and Gujarat Satraps and the Andhras.

The Guptas failed to standardize; they used both North and South types in several varieties. Diversity persisted and the Medieval Period presents a bewildering variety of scripts, two or more of which are often used at a time in the same area. Up to 650 A.D. the art of writing was unstable; North and South characters were strangely mixed. In the Middle Medieval Period, however, things got more uniform, local varieties disappear and by 1000 A.D. Aryan India writes in some form or other of Nagari; Dravidian India either in Kanarese-Telugu, or Tamil-Grantha, or Tamil. By the end of the Medieval Period the scripts differ little from their present-day form.

The Arabic scripts of India also tell their tale. Two scripts, *Kufic* and *Nashk*, existed side by side in Islam till XIII A.D., when *Kufic* went out of use. Hence *Nashk* was the script of the Delhi Sultanate. Meanwhile (in XIV A.D.) *Nasta'liq* developed in Persia under Pahlavi influence. *Nasta'liq* [with its variant (*Shikasta*)] became the dominant script of the Mughals.¹¹

(To be continued.)

¹¹ Mem. Arch. Surv. Ind., No. 29.

BOOK-NOTICES.

FALAKÎ-I-SHÎRWÂNÎ, HIS TIMES, LIFE AND WORKS,
by Hadi Hasan. James G. Furlong Fund.
Vol. VI. The Royal Asiatic Society. 1929.

This short fasciculus of 96 pages constitutes an introduction to an edition of the complete extant remains of an early Persian poet, who lived in the first half of the twelfth century and was a pupil of the great poet Khâqânî, who lived from 1106 to 1185 A.D. It is not possible to fix the date of birth or death of Falakî with any accuracy, but it is clear from Khâqânî's reference to him that he died young and that the date ordinarily accepted for his death (577 A.H.) is much too late. Like his master, Falakî was a court poet of the small principality of Shîrwân or Sharwân, which lay between the Christian kingdom of Georgia and the Caspian Sea.

There is no preface or introduction to this little book. The reader is left without any information as to the personality of the author, who does not explain how and why his attention was attracted to the works, of no great quantity or quality, of a comparatively insignificant poet, who, like 'Umar Khayyâm, was primarily an astronomer. There can be no doubt, however, that Mr. Hadi Hasan (assuming this not to be a *nom de plume*) is a competent and trained scholar, with a thorough knowledge not only of the Persian language and literature but also of western methods of criticism and the use of manuscripts. He shows a marked interest in questions of history and particularly of chronology. Chronological points arising out of the poems are handled with great skill and acumen. The way in which it is proved that two particular codes of Falakî must have been written in the years 521 and 522 A.H. is most interesting and also quite convincing. On some historical points aid has been obtained from numismatics.

The text of Falakî as determined by the present editor consists of 1197 couplets, 70 more than are included in the longest extant collection, *viz.*, that which is contained in a manuscript in the Munich library. This Munich *diwân* comprises 20 *qasidas* in alphabetical order, 3 *tarkîb-bands*, one prison poem, 5 quatrains and some *ghazals* and fragments, amounting altogether to 1135 couplets. Three of these couplets, however, occur twice over, and if we subtract these and two couplets proved to belong to Shams-i-Tabriz (*i.e.*, to Maulânâ Rûmî) and three attributable to Qatrân, a balance of 1127 is left.

In addition to the couplets found in the Munich *diwân*, a collection of 108 couplets attributed to Falakî has been made by the editor, mostly from two MS. copies of an anthology arranged by Taqi'udîn Kâshî in 985 A.H., which are in the British Museum and in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

This would have given an aggregate of 1235, but out of this one couplet has been omitted as assignable to Adib-i-Sâbir, and a whole prison-poem of 37 couplets attributed to Sa'd-i-Salmân has also been

excluded, leaving a balance of 1197, as previously mentioned.

From the poems of Falakî which have been quoted and translated by the editor in this introductory fasciculus, it is impossible to form a high opinion of Falakî's poetical merits. A fairer estimate of their value may perhaps be formed when the whole works are available *en masse*. This introduction is certainly a first-rate piece of work. The manner in which such diverse questions as the date of Falakî's death, his relations with Khâqânî, and the correct name of the Shîrwân king who imprisoned Khâqânî—this is shown on metrical grounds combined with evidence from the Georgian chronicles to have been Akhsatân—and to whom Nizâmî dedicated his *Lailâ* and *Majnûn*, and many other debateable points have been handled, must command no small degree of admiration from those who are interested in Oriental scholarship.

R. P. DEWHURST.

BULLETIN DE L'ECOLE FRANCAISE D'EXTRÊME
ORIENT, TOME XXVI, XXVII. 11 x 7½; pp. 552
and 703. Hanoi, 1927 and 1928.

These Bulletins, replete with matter of value to all scholars interested in the Far East, maintain the high standard for which they are so widely known. Volume XXVI is dedicated to the memory of M. Charles Maybon, whose zealous and fruitful labours in various capacities were prematurely cut short in that year through a fatal accident when he was on leave in France. The contents include a French-Mân dictionary, being an important study of the language of the *Kim-di-mun*, 'the people who live at the foot of the mountains,' in Tonkin and the adjoining Chinese territory, by M. F. M. Savina of the *Société des Missions Étrangères* of Paris, and a selection of three Japanese lyrical dramas, with a transliteration of the Japanese text, a translation in French and numerous annotations by Lt.-Col. Renondeau. In addition to these longer articles, we have an interesting note by M. Henri Marchal on certain peculiar architectural features of the Nak Pan remains, not observable elsewhere in Cambodia, and a description of excavations at two sites at Quang-binh in Annam written by the late M. L. Arousseau, whose sad death since we deeply deplore.

In volume XXVII Col. Renondeau continues his study of Japanese lyrical dramas, adding five more plays to those published in the preceding volume. The following article by M. Henri Parmentier forms the eighth of his series of *Notes on Indo-Chinese Archaeology* and deals with the modifications undergone by the Bayon in the course of its construction. In anticipation of a larger work which he contemplates, M. Parmentier sets forth in this article reasons for holding that the Bayon as extant differs from the edifice originally planned and that numerous religious elements of the decoration have been

altered, chiefly with a view to suppressing the Buddhistic features and substituting Śaivite forms. As will be remembered, this question has also been dealt with by Prof. L. Finot, as well as by M. P. Stern in his recent work on the Bayon and the Evolution of Khmer Art. We next find a very interesting account of the Tsa Khmu, one of the mountaineer tribes scattered over Lai-châu and Phongsaly, by MM. Henri Roux and Tran-van-chu, illustrated by appropriate photographs, and concluding with a short Khmu vocabulary. Special attention may perhaps be directed to the scholarly and suggestive note by M. Victor Goloubew on the horse Balâha, the legend about which is the subject of a group of sculpture at Nak Pan, of bas-reliefs at the Bayon and at Barabudur in Java and Pagan in Burmah, of a panel on a Mathurâ railing in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and of a fresco in Cave XVII at Ajanta.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

PANJAB UNIVERSITY ORIENTAL PUBLICATIONS. THE SAUNDARANANDA OF ĀSVAGHOṢA. CRITICALLY EDITED WITH NOTES BY E. H. JOHNSTON. xv + 175 pp. 8°. Published for the University of the Panjab, Lahore. Oxford University Press, London: Humphrey Milford, 1928.

The Panjab University Oriental Publications have hitherto brought us two very valuable works in new and thoroughly revised editions, viz., Bhavabhūti's *Mahāvīracarita*, edited by the late Todar Mall and Professor Macdonell, and Āsvaghoṣa's *Saundaranandakāvya*, edited by Mr. Johnston. The latter work has not been long known, and the only existing edition—that by MM. Haraprasad Shastri in the *Bibliotheca Indica*—in spite of its obvious merits, does not satisfy the craving for a real critical edition. Mr. Johnston has brought to this very difficult task his undoubted critical acumen and his most thorough acquaintance with the works of Āsvaghoṣa; and he has succeeded in giving us a text which is perhaps not perfect—for that were to ask for too much under the present circumstances—but as excellent as could with every right be expected.

Of manuscripts there are only two known, both belonging to the Library of H. H. the Mahārāja of Nepal. Of these, the old palm-leaf one is generally trustworthy but has, unfortunately, been much damaged in various ways and is now incomplete. The younger paper manuscript, dating probably from the eighteenth century, seems complete but is badly written and gives much material which cannot be used without being duly corrected. Beside the manuscripts, Mr. Johnston has also availed himself of the *editio princeps* as well as of several well-known papers by Speyer, Hultzsche, Gawronski, Professor Jacobi and other scholars. In this way he has constituted his text, which does undoubtedly contain obscure passages, but which can still be read rather fluently and with a fair amount of pleasure.

On a few minor points we should like, with due respect and diffidence, to differ from the learned editor; but these are points of very limited importance. Thus, e.g., in iv, 39, we ought undoubtedly to read with Gawronski *pradhyānaśūnya sthira-nīścalākṣī* instead of “*sthita*” of the manuscripts. Likewise in v, 52, the conjecture of Hultzsche—*pravā-pyamāṇesu*—alone seems correct. In i, 3, the second *ca* certainly must be superfluous; and there is a small number of very unimportant and easily corrected misprints, upon which we shall, of course, not enter here.

We allow ourselves sincerely to congratulate Mr. Johnston upon his undoubtedly great success as an editor of a very knotty text. If we be not misinformed, he is now preparing a translation of the *Saundarananda*, which will certainly be of great value and interest to his fellow-scholars. We express a hope that after achieving this task, Mr. Johnston will contemplate re-editing the *Buddhacarita*, which, in spite of Cowell's excellent edition, is in bad need of going through a thorough revision. No living scholar would be better prepared for such a task than is Mr. Johnston.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

SOUTH-INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS, vol. III, Part IV, by RAO BAHADUR H. KRISHNA SASTRI. Pp. 441 to 480, with Preface, Introduction and Index to vol. III, pp. xvi + 22 + 44. Madras, 1929.

Chôlas and Pândyas have been neighbours since the days of Aśoka. The frontier between them is marked by the group of hills that lie to the north of Madura and by the arid course of the (Southern) Vellâr, which carries their storm water to the sea. More than once the Pândyas pressed northwards into the fertile Kâvêri-fed Chôla-maṇḍalam (“Coromandel”), and the Cholas, when in turn they pushed southwards, treated the Pândyas with respect, and appointed “Pândya” governors to rule them.

The records of Pândya history are all too meagre, though the Pândya city of Madura was the home of Tamil literature. Of the pregnant period that preceded the rise of the Chôla Empire in the tenth century almost nothing was known till the discovery of the Velvikudi and Sinnamanûr Plates (1906-7). The former was edited by H. Krishna Sastri in vol. XVII of *Epigraphia Indica*, the latter is the main theme of this fourth (and last) part of vol. III of *South Indian Inscriptions*, Parts I and II of which were issued by Hultzsche in 1899 and 1903, Part III by Krishna Sastri in 1920.

Clearly and concisely Krishna Sastri tells how the Pândyas, during the pietist reign of the Râshtrakûṭa Emperor, Amôghavarsha (814-877), advanced against Chôlas and Pallavas as far as the Ponnaiyâr, fought stoutly in the plains which Clive and Lawrence afterwards made famous, till finally, after Amôghavarsha's death, the Chôlas took the Pândya capital, and broke their power.

Seven Chôla plates of minor interest are also published in this issue. In an Introduction to the completed volume Krishna Sastri sums up the history of the Chôlas down to the conquests of Râjendra I in the Ganges Valley and Sumatra. But the Preface, alas! is by another hand, for Krishna Sastri did not live to see this last work of his through the Press. In his ripe scholarship, and that of his predecessor, Venkayya, Hultzsch's labours have borne splendid fruit, and Krishna Sastri's death is a grievous loss to epigraphic research and to the many friends he was always so willing to help and advise.

Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, a successor of proved merit, has given the finishing touches to Krishna Sastri's work, and it is he who edits the minor Chôla plates.

F. J. RICHARDS.

GESETZBUCH UND PURÂNA. (INDISCHE FORSCHUNGEN begründet von A. HILLEBRANDT, in zwanglosen Heften herausgegeben von B. LIEBICH. HEFT 7.) J. J. MEYER. xiii + 122 pp. 8°. Breslau, M. and H. Marcus, 1929.

Dr. J. J. Meyer, shortly after publishing his very bulky translation of the *Kautiliya* and his important work, *Über das Wesen der indischen Rechtsschriften*, has now produced still another volume dealing with the interrelations between Purâna and law-book in Ancient India. The work is mainly a polemic against Dr. H. Losch, who, in his thesis on the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, tried to subvert the previous arguments of Dr. Meyer and to prove that the *Smṛti* has been pieced together from fragments taken out of the Purânas, and that no individual authors of Hindu law-books existed.

Dr. Meyer pleads his cause in a spirited way, and his work as usual is full of learned and valuable information. Personally the present writer feels inclined to think that Dr. Meyer's arguments carry a good deal of weight and are, as a rule, of a stronger nature than those of his opponent. It is, therefore, a great pity that this book, like the previous one, should show a lack of proper arrangement and be couched in a language that is only partly understandable.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

FOLKTALES OF THE LAND OF IND, by MN. VENKATASWAMI with a foreword by Sir Narayan Chandavarkar. Madras Methodist Publishing House, 1927.

Mr. Venkataswami is a well-known student of Indian folktales, and has in this book given one more instalment of his efforts in preserving those to be found in Southern India. He states exactly the *provenance* of each tale, has classified his collection and has drawn up, evidently with much labour, an index of their contents which should be valuable to students. He has also added notes on points peculiar to India which require explanation. The book is thus of value to students in general.

The preface is somewhat grandiloquent for a book in English, but Sir N. Chandavarkar's foreword is frank and interesting. The story he tells of his childhood (p. xi) reveals a breadth of religious view on the part of purely Hindu parents, which should put to shame many a Christian teacher of childhood. Of the *Notes*, I select, for the benefit of readers of this journal, that on Gandharva Laws of Marriage (p. 17): In the absence of a priest the contracting parties enter a temple and in the presence of the deity garland themselves or throw wreaths of flowers on each other's neck and thus they are said to become man and wife in perfect legitimate manner. The right of contracting Gandharva marriages is vested in royal personages, and this too only permitted in the absence of priests.

Altogether the book is not one to be lightly set aside by the student.

R. C. TEMPLE.

LES CHANTS MYSTIQUES DE KÂṆHA ET DE SARAHÂ.

LES DOHÂ KOṢA (en apabhramśa, avec les versions tibétains) et LES CARYÂ (en vieux-bengali) avec introduction, vocabulaires et notes éditées et traduits par M. SHAHIDULLAH. xii + 234 pp. 8°. Paris, 1928.

Scholars interested in the study of religion, as well as in that of philology, will feel thankful to Mr. Shahidullah for providing them with an edition, with introductory and explanatory notes, of these interesting mystic songs of Kâṇha and Sarahâ. The *Dohâ-Koṣa* are the only Buddhist texts in Apabhramśa that have so far become known, and their importance has been pointed out in brief already by Professor Jacobi.¹

To call these works Buddhist is, of course, scarcely correct, for what they preserve of the old doctrine of the followers of the Enlightened One is next to nothing. It is more suitable to speak of them as Tantric; and their vocabulary, as explained by Mr. Shahidullah (p. 9 sq.), is of the specifically Tantric trend which may well evoke interest, but which is mainly—like the doctrines it is used to interpret—of a very repulsive nature. However, in the history of Indian (and Tibetan) religion, *Tantra* has played and is playing a great rôle. And no one interested in the manifold developments of what, for want of a better name, we persist in calling Hinduism, can venture wholly to look away from it, unsavoury though it be from every point of view.

The grammatical parts of Mr. Shahidullah's work are sound and full of interest. With his etymological suggestions we are not always at one, but, having found opportunity to go into some detail elsewhere,² we shall not enter upon that thorny subject here. On the whole Mr. Shahidullah is to be congratulated for having achieved a good and sound piece of work.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

¹ Cp. *Sanaikumâracarita*, p. xxvii.

² In a review shortly to be published in *Le Monde Oriental*.

We saw no footprints of Jàrawas while going west. They, I think, chiefly use the beds of the streams as thoroughfares and do not as a rule go straight across country; though they would cross some ridges to go from one stream to another. Near the place where we camped on the night of the 30th, we found a prickly cane cut with a *dah*, which showed that the Jàrawas had been up that stream some time. I never saw the sea on the West Coast, nor do I exactly know how far across the island I reached, but think that I must have crossed about half-way, and that with five days' provisions it would be possible to cross and recross the island near Jâtâng, if you go due west through and over everything and due east back again. I noticed some padouk trees near Jâtâng beyond where the working for London squares had gone.

After we had passed the first large stream running south, I saw no padouk. The forest seemed to be very poor, to contain but few large trees, and to be composed chiefly of small poles or trees and a dense matted undergrowth of canes, creepers and creeping bamboos, which made it very difficult to force one's way through it and formed an efficient screen against the sun. The map does not accurately represent the nature of the interior of the island. There must be nearly 20 ridges to be crossed in going from Jâtâng to Ike Bay. Most of these are not very high, probably not more than 300 to 500 feet, while some of them are as much as 800 to 1,000 feet I think. The consequence of my having taken the Andamanese straight up and down all the ridges going north and south was that they told me, when I had decided to turn back, so as to reach Jâtâng while our provisions lasted, that they were absolutely unable to take me back to Jâtâng. So I had to guide the party across the island myself by means of a compass which I carried with me and was much relieved when the Andamanese recognised (at 3-30 p.m.) what they thought was Jâtâng Hill and Duratâng, as I then knew that we should reach Jâtâng some time the next day.

The party I took with me consisted of 8 Policemen, 1 Orderly, 10 Andamanese and their *pahrâwâlâ* [Indian guard], 4 convicts as coolies, and an office peon and one of my *mullâhs* [boatmen]. We took a blanket each and rations and nothing else and slept out in the open near water. We camped on the second night in an old Jàrawa camp and left marks in the recent shooting camp we found that we had been there and took away the two pig skulls found there.

So far as ascertaining where the encampments of the Jàrawas near Port Meadows and Jâtâng lay is concerned, the expedition has been a failure, and as I failed to reach the West Coast I have been unable to locate their encampments between Port Campbell and Ike Bay. But the expedition has been useful in giving me an idea of what the interior of the island is like, which will be most useful in helping to determine the alignment of the path from Jâtâng to Ike Bay.

I accompanied Mr. Vaux back to the *Belle* on the 1st February, and went with him and Mr. Bonig and returned to Port Blair with them on the 4th instant. I took photographs of the exterior and interior of the Jàrawa hut, which have turned out well.

(c) *Extracts from the Diary of Mr. C. J. Rogers of his exploration into the interior of the South Andaman, west of Jâtâng, during the 30th and 31st January and 1st February 1902.*

30th January 1902.—Left camp at 7 A.M. Went north and north-west for 30 minutes and north with little west for 20 minutes, first through the forest and then following a stream. First halt for a few minutes at 8-10 A.M. Then followed a winding stream flowing generally north: at 8-25 A.M. came across a pole which had been cut with a *dah* or axe and from which arrows had been made. At 8-30 A.M. came across some footprints of Jàrawas in small stream running west. At 8-45 A.M. found a recent Jàrawa encampment⁹ on a ridge. There were eight fireplaces in it. The charred ends of the wood and the ashes showed it

⁹ The Jàrawas probably slept here on the night of the 10th January, previous to their raid on the 11th at Jâtâng.

had not long been vacated. The Andamanese say there must have been a lot of people there, both men, women and children. Two fresh pigs' skulls were tied up to bamboos, some pieces of half-burnt leaves used for roasting the meat were found and also some cups made of leaves and bamboo water vessels. The fires were arranged more or less in a circle, and some bunches of leaf sticks said to be used for dancing were also found. All the wood was collected and placed in a heap in the centre of the camp and two or three bamboos cut and placed over the heap to show that we had been there. There were no shelters put up.

At 8-50 A.M., a little further on, we came upon an old camp which showed no signs of having been used recently. Some decayed shelters and two decayed fishing baskets were found, but nothing else. The Andamanese then followed up the trail for a short distance and then lost it. They had absolutely lost all traces of the Jàrawas at 9-30 A.M. We then followed a stream running north till 10-10 A.M. and the Andamanese then took us up a hill to the east, where they said they thought the permanent camp of the Jàrawas would be found. We reached the top of the ridge at 10-40 A.M. It is probably a spur from Jâtâng Hill, but we found no trace of any Jàrawas. From 10-40 to 11 A.M., we went north and west on the flank of the spur and halted from 11 to 11-15 A.M. We then followed up a stream flowing south till we came to the water-parting of it and a stream flowing north.

30th January 1902.—As the Andamanese were wandering about aimlessly I then took them in hand and directed the line of march to the west along a spur running east and west, and at 12-20 we reached a large stream flowing south, where we halted till 2 P.M.

We then proceeded due west and crossed another ridge, reaching another stream flowing north and south at 2-40 P.M. At 2-55 P.M. we reached a small stream (going west the whole time) running south-east, which soon fell into a large stream with lots of water in it flowing north and south. We left this stream at 3 P.M., and reached (going west) the top of a steep hill at 3-25 P.M., and saw a high ridge running apparently north-west and south-east to the east of us. We halted here till 3-30 P.M., and then again went west down a steep slope and then along a stream till 4 P.M. We then went south along this stream for a short distance. In the stream we found a dry cane, which was lying in the stream and had been cut with some cutting instrument and soon met a large winding stream flowing west, where we pitched our camp at 4-10 P.M. The stream had large fish, 8 to 10 inches long, in it, and the water was perfectly fresh and nice.

31st January 1902.—The camp was undisturbed at night. We left camp at 7-30 A.M., and went up a steep spur going west with a little south in it. At 7-50 A.M. going west with a little south we crossed another stream flowing south with water in it; till 8-5 A.M., we went up steep uphill and then halted for 10 minutes to let the baggage coolies catch us up; at 8-30 A.M. we reached the top of the hill. An Andamanese here climbed a tree and said that he could not see the sea, but that there was another high ridge to be crossed to the west and another high peak to the south-west from which he thought we should get a good view, and he wanted to go to the peak to the south-west and not that to the west. This I consented to and started again at 8-40 A.M., going south-west and reached another hill at 8-15 A.M. From this the peak was said to be visible, so we went on down the flank of the hill. I observed the Andamanese and found that they were not going south-west, but had turned to the west and then again to the north and were going up the hill we had just come down! Only on a different spur of it.

This proved to me conclusively the futility of allowing the Andamanese to guide our movements, so I stopped them about 9-15 A.M., and we had a talk. They then confessed that they knew nothing about finding their way in the forest and had (so they said) never had to find their way in one. I asked them if they could take me back to Jâtâng and they said no, they could not do so. So after some consideration I came to the conclusion that it was not wise to go further west and that I had better try and guide the party back to Jâtâng.

For if we went further west and I was not right in my directions, we might not get back to Jâtâng before our provisions gave out.

At 10-20 A.M., started due east towards Jâtâng, reached the top of a ridge at 10-40 A.M., and going due east came to a large stream flowing south at 12 noon, stayed there till 1-30 P.M. At 2 P.M., going still due east, we reached the top of the next ridge. Halted 15 minutes, reached the top of the next ridge at 2-50 P.M., having crossed another valley. Halted till 3-10 P.M. An Andamanese climbing a tree said he could see the survey station (a hill cleared of jungle with a post on it) and also Kyd Island which he recognised by a large gurjan tree, we went still due east and came to a stream with water in it at 3-25 P.M., and crossed it. An Andamanese went up it and said he had found an old Jàrawa camp a little way up it. Went to see it and found the remains of two huts. It had not been used for a long while. As we had had a tiring day, decided to spend the night in the camp and to return to Jâtâng the next morning.

1st February 1902.—Left camp at 7-20 A.M., going due east, reached a stream flowing north at 7-40 A.M., and still going east another large stream flowing east at 7-45 A.M.; this soon bent to the north, so we left it and continued going east. This stream had lots of water in it and an Andamanese speared a fresh water fish about 10 inches long in it: followed along the stream for 100 yards and left it at 8-10 A.M., reached the top of another ridge, from which an Andamanese from the top of a tree could see Kyd Island, but not the sea.

At 8-25 A.M., going a little to the east of south, we reached the top of a ridge, from which the top of Jâtâng Hill (Survey Station) could be seen. At 9-5 A.M., going a little to the east of south, reached the next ridge and halted there for 5 minutes, and at 9-30 A.M. we reached a stream which the Police had visited the second day that they went out by themselves. Picked up the Forest Department's elephants' tracks at 10-30 A.M., and reached Jâtâng camp at 11-25 A.M.

(d) *Diary, dated 5th February 1902, of Mr. M. Bonig, Assistant Harbour Master, Port Blair, from 25th January to 4th February 1902.*

25th January.—Left Port Blair in the steam launch *Belle* at 6-30 P.M., with Mr. Vaux, also 1 Naik, 6 Police, 15 Andamanese and 3 convict servants. Arrived at Macpherson Strait at 9 P.M. and anchored there for the night.

26th January.—Left Macpherson Strait at 9 A.M., arrived at Port Mouat at 11 A.M.; left Port Mouat at 1-35 P.M., and proceeded to Constance Bay and anchored off a place called by the Andamanese Koyâb-l'âr-tenga, at 2-30 P.M. Took an Andamanese canoe in tow from here.

27th January.—Left Constance Bay at 7-30 A.M. for Port Campbell and arrived at the latter place at 11 A.M. Went ashore with Mr. Vaux, first at Montgomery Island and then on the mainland to search for new traces of Jàrawas. Found an old Jàrawa bow, a basket and a bamboo drinking cup in the jungle, but no new tracks of Jàrawas were found; they do not appear to have frequented this place since the Census expedition in February 1901.¹⁰ The Andamanese shot 12 turtles in the evening in the shallow water between Montgomery Island and the mainland, which place seems to be a feeding ground for turtles.

28th January.—Left the ship at 7-30 A.M., with 9 Andamanese, 4 Police and 1 convict, crossed Chàuga Jâru between Clyde Island and the mainland and landed on the mainland opposite. Sent the Havildar of Police with 3 Constables and 3 Andamanese along a small creek into the jungle, to search for fresh tracks of Jàrawas, with instructions to try and meet us about four miles further north. I went with the remainder of the Andamanese along the shore up to Gering-châpâ-jig and followed up the left bank, while I sent three Andamanese up the right bank, with instructions to follow us as soon as they had found fresh tracks. We soon discovered that the Jàrawas frequented the vicinity, there being footprints of Jàrawas in the swamp. The footprints of Jàrawas are easily distinguished from any other, as the

¹⁰ See ante p. 21.

Jàrawas appear to walk in a crouching attitude with their toes turned inwards, most probably the result of having to live in the dense jungle of the Andamans, where upright walking would be impossible. We also observed that a large tree had been stripped by them of its bark for the purpose, as the Andamanese informed me, of making waist ornaments.

After having searched in the jungle for another four miles to try and find our other party, we returned to the beach. The three other Andamanese had not yet arrived, so we forded the creek and followed them up and observed by the footprints, that they had followed a single Jàrawa along the shore. We caught them up again after a little while, and as it was getting late then, I decided to return on board. Going along the shore I saw the remains of a wreck : there were only left of it three anchors, some chains, part of the windlass and about 20 tons of cast iron kentledge ; judging from the size of the anchors it must have been a 200 to 300 ton vessel. When I returned to the boat, I found that my other party had returned before noon without having seen anything, so I decided not to send them alone in future. Arrived on board at 6-30 P.M.

29th January.—Left Port Campbell for Bilep at daybreak, arriving at the latter place at 7-3 A.M. Mr. Vaux and myself divided again into two parties, Mr. Vaux following up Gering-châpâ-jig, while I went up Bilep-jig. We rowed about a mile up the creek and went ashore, leaving the boat by itself. We soon found the Jàrawa tracks and followed them up through the jungle. We saw by the footprints that there were two men, one woman and a child in the vicinity. We followed these up and came on a temporary encampment, where they had been resting the night previous. It consisted of only a few leaves put on the ground to sleep on and a piece of wood as a head-rest, they having selected for this camp a promontory on the bank of a small waterfall, where it would have been extremely difficult to have taken them by surprise.

After having followed the footprints a few miles further south, we came on the foot-steps of Mr. Vaux's party, which the Jàrawas had followed to the beach, so we followed these as fast as we possibly could. When we came near the launch the crew shouted out to us that ten Jàrawas were sitting under a certain tree on the beach, so we advanced cautiously, keeping a good distance from the edge of the jungle. I left the Police behind a little so as not to frighten the Jàrawas by our large numbers, but we found to our great disappointment that the Jàrawas had left the place and gone up the creek again ; coming on our boat, they had taken away from it two rowlocks and a bucket, having left the other two rowlocks with the remainder of the gear undisturbed. They had then followed our tracks into the jungle again. As it was getting dark now, it was of no use following them any further, so we returned in our boat to the ship. I may say that the number of Jàrawas who passed the ship had been greatly exaggerated by the crew, as we saw by the footprints, there had only been the three adults and one child that we had followed the whole day. Mr. Vaux returned on board at 9-30 P.M.

30th January.—We went on shore in the early morning and remained on the beach, thinking that the Jàrawas would either return to the beach or else leave this place altogether. But as the Jàrawas did not come out, we returned on board and left Bilep for Kaichwa-lôg, while Mr. Vaux went with his party along the beach. Arrived at Kaichwa-lôg at about 4-30 P.M. and anchored inside the small harbour there at about 4-30 P.M.

This is a very good anchorage in any wind, except when it is blowing from the west. Deepest water is found near the north shore of the entrance. Went on shore again with the Andamanese and searched the jungle in the neighbourhood, but no traces of Jàrawas were seen. We returned on board at 6-30 P.M., Mr. Vaux having arrived an hour previously.

31st January.—Left Kaichwa-lôg at 6 A.M. and arrived at Port Anson at 9 A.M. Took two other Andamanese on board here and steamed down to Dum-la-chôrag, where we anchored at 10 A.M. Went ashore and passed through about four miles of mangrove swamp.

We then separated in two parties again and after our having crossed a short distance of jungle, we came on a large Jàrawa path. Having followed it a little way up, we were caught up by Mr. Vaux's party. This path led us on to a large hut. After having unsuccessfully searched the jungle for another mile or so, Mr. Vaux decided that we should take a few of the Jàrawa objects of interest out of their hut and return with the launch to Port Blair.

1st February.—Left Dum-la-chôrag at daybreak and arrived at Port Blair, about 10-30 A.M.

2nd February.—Left Port Blair at 7-50 A.M. for Kyd Island and arrived at the latter place at 10-10 A.M., rowed up Jâtâng creek with Mr. Vaux and party, and landed at the Forest Department dépôt, where we picked up Mr. Rogers, and then returned to Kyd Island.

3rd February.—Left Kyd Island at 6 A.M. and arrived at Dum-la-chôrag at 8-40 A.M. Went ashore with Mr. Vaux and party to the Jàrawa camp. We took away from it as many pigs' skulls, baskets, etc., as we could carry. The Jàrawas, who had been there the day previous, had taken away all the wooden buckets we had seen there on Friday, of which a specimen had been taken away by us. We returned on board and left Dum-la-chôrag at 4-35 P.M. for Lekerâ-luntâ, where we anchored at 5-30 P.M.

4th February.—Left Lekerâ-luntâ at 11-40 A.M., and arrived Port Blair at 4-30 P.M.

SECOND RECONNAISSANCE.

(a) *Extract from the Diary of the late Mr. P. Vaux, Port Officer, Port Blair, from 17th to 23rd February 1902.*

17th February.—Left Port Blair 5 P.M., arriving at Macpherson's Straits at 8 P.M.; anchored for the night.

18th February.—Left Macpherson's Straits at daybreak, arriving at Bâjâ-luntâ at 10 A.M. Left at 10-30 with Mr. Rogers. It was a long pull and by the time we had landed and separated it was past 11. Beat about the swamp for some time for footsteps, and while doing so came on Mr. Rogers. Left him at once, going south myself, while he went north. We soon came on tracks, and these we followed for the remainder of the day. We soon discovered that the party of Jàrawas was only just in front of us. So close were we to them, that at one place where they had sat down to take their food, we found a live fish that they had caught in the creek. We were following up a small stream and our direction was nearly due east. We slacked off somewhat as our intention was to come up with them in the evening. At about 2 P.M. we heard them cutting down branches and afterwards came to the boughs of trees that had been cut down for the insects inside them.

The Andamanese said the party would be sure to camp in the evening and that then was our time. They were proceeding quite slowly, and we did the same occasionally losing their steps, but never for long. About 4 P.M., we heard them commence to cut down trees for their camp, and we could distinctly hear the voices of men, women and children. It took them about an hour to prepare their huts, and then they settled down and every sound nearly was audible. With the utmost caution we got to within a few hundred yards of them and there waited, deciding, as it was moonlight, in fact full moon, that we would rush their camp at night. It was most weary work waiting, and very cold and miserable, as we were all wet through. About 7-30 all sounds ceased, and at 8 o'clock the three best Andamanese crept away to discover where their camp was. It seemed an eternity before their return, which, as a matter of fact, was just an hour. They reported that they had found the huts and that all the Jàrawas were sound asleep.

We then all advanced, in nearly absolute silence, at about the pace of a yard a minute. It must have been half-past ten, when in the flickering moonlight, we discerned their huts. I got separated from the Andamanese, who went to the back of the huts, while I and the

Police went to flank. The camp was in absolute sleep. A baby cried and was hushed to sleep, while we were within 20 yards of the camp. As we stole along through the jungle, dead twigs broke and cracked and their noise at last awakened the sleepers; there were voices, exclamations, then figures could be seen emerging from the huts. A shot was fired from a rifle, then others, and all was confusion. I rushed into the middle and pulled at the post of one of the houses. I then saw a figure escaping into the jungle and I seized hold of it. This I believe to have been a woman. She escaped owing to the stupidity of a policeman. I called to one of the sepoys to seize her, and ran back again to order the firing to cease. The policeman let her go and she escaped. I believe her to be a woman, as she was smeared with white and as she did not attack me or bite, but only struggled to get loose. I had dragged her out of the jungle to the edge of the fire and all that the policeman had to do was to hold her, but even this he did not do. Two children, a girl aged about seven, and a baby ten months or so, were seized by my direction close by. When the confusion had subsided, I made the Police and Andamanese make large fires around the camp and we collected the bows and arrows of the Jàrawas and sat round the fires. I ordered a shot to be fired every quarter of an hour to scare them away in case they should return.

The camp was of three huts, a mere shelter in the middle of the jungle. It was occupied by two families and two lads who did not belong to them, *i.e.*, two full grown men, two boys, two women and four children. What must have happened is that the Andamanese got close up to the huts and then the inmates awoke. They said they shot one of the men, putting two arrows into him, a large one under the arm and another fish arrow through his thigh. Then the boys and women ran out and the Police fired, and then all was confusion. I had expected when the sounds of our coming had aroused the Jàrawas, that they would have run out in front and fired at myself and the Police, who were plainly visible, but they were caught so sound asleep that they could do nothing and only thought of escaping.

We passed a most miserable night crouched round the fires, with a shot being fired every fifteen minutes or so. None of us had had anything to eat since seven o'clock in the morning, but fish and pigs' flesh and potatoes were found in the huts and the Andamanese had a little, while I and the Police had a few *chupâtis* [unleavened pancakes]. Sleep of course was impossible for me and the Police, and we shivered over the fires from eleven in the night till daybreak. When it was light enough, I and the Andamanese followed up the blood stains, and found the two arrows covered with blood that the Andamanese had shot into one of the Jàrawas, and which the man had succeeded in pulling out. We lost the blood stains very soon and then there was nothing to be done but to return. So we set off for the coast, taking the two children with us, and came out about 9. We then had a two-mile walk through the sea and mangrove swamp getting back at 10 o'clock. Mr. Rogers pulled off with the boat when he heard us fire a shot. Mr. Bonig had gone south and returned in the evening, having found no signs of anything.

20th February.—Learning from the Andamanese that there was a woman giving milk at Port Anson, we changed all previous arrangements and proceeded to Port Anson, as it was very necessary to give the Jàrawa baby some milk. Left at 7-30 and arrived at 1. To my great disappointment the woman was absent in the jungle. We tried feeding the child with milk, but we could hardly force any down its throat. So after waiting until the night for the woman to return and finding she did not, I decided to send the launch back to Port Blair in the morning with both the children and Mr. Bonig, and to camp at Pôchâng, the site of the chief Jàrawa camp, till the morning with Mr. Rogers.

21st February.—Left Port Anson at daybreak and anchored at Dum-la-chôrag at 7-30 A.M. Mr. Rogers and myself, a dozen Andamanese and 12 policemen landed, Mr. Bonig with the remaining Andamanese, the 2 Jàrawa children and 5 Police returning to Port Blair.

It took two trips of the Andamanese boat to land all, and as every one was taking a week's rations, we were all heavily loaded. The tide was exceptionally high, and we had a very hard time, struggling through the mangrove swamp with our heavy loads deep in water. It took us nearly four hours to do this, and about an hour to finish the march up to Pôchâng, where all arrived, very glad to lay down their loads. We pitched camp on the ridge of the big Jàrawa house. Cleared a spot and all camped. The men rigged up a shelter of saplings and leaves for Mr. Rogers and self, and the others camped round. There was a stream of water at the bottom of the hill, so for the remainder of the day we made ourselves as comfortable as we could under the circumstances.

22nd February.—Started out at 7-30 A.M. with a party of 6 Andamanese and one policeman. Wandered through creeks and over precipitous hills and through dense jungle all day long : found absolutely nothing but very old tracks ; could not get on to any big path, and eventually, after walking many miles, got on to the main *khârî* [creek] from Port Anson and walked up to our camp. Mr. Rogers arrived half an hour later. Mr. Bonig had arrived at 10 A.M. from Port Blair and left a note to say that he had gone off hunting. He did not return that night. Mr. Rogers reported having discovered the main track south and a big encampment.

23rd February.—Waited until about 9-30 A.M. for Mr. Bonig, when, as it seemed doubtful whether he would turn up until evening, Mr. Rogers and self decided to move camp to the big hunting camp discovered by him. We accordingly packed up, and each shouldering a load as before, we set off and tramped about 6 miles along a Jàrawa path to the hunting camp. The road lay due south and we only climbed a couple of hills, the rest of the way being along the slopes, and along a broad stream, some 20 yards broad, flowing due south ; although only 6 miles or so off, we went so slowly, carrying our loads, that it was 2-30 or so before we arrived. The hunting camp was similar in construction to several I found, consisting of six huts facing a well cleared open space. It was on a hill-top and had several paths running up to it. Water was close by Gôrlâkâbang.

[Note.—Mr. Vaux was killed on the 24th.]

(b) *Extract from the Diary of Mr. C. G. Rogers, Deputy Conservator of Forests, from the 17th to 26th February 1902.*

17th February.—Left Port Blair in the *Belle* about 5 P.M. and reached Macpherson's Straits soon after sunset and anchored there for the night.

18th February.—Left Macpherson's Straits at daybreak and steamed up the West Coast of the island and through the Labyrinth Islands to the place called Tâlaplungtâ on the Andamans Topographical Survey Map (2 miles=1 inch). Mr. Bonig found a passage through the coral reefs and anchored about a quarter mile from the shore and the estuary of the stream which enters the sea here. The Andamanese called it Bâjâluntâ. We landed with Andamanese to look for Jàrawa tracks, camps and houses. Mr. Bonig went to the bay to the north. Mr. Vaux and self went up the estuary and landed at 11-15 A.M. He went to the south and I continued up the *khârî* [creek], and at 11-40 the Andamanese with me came across some fresh Jàrawa tracks. We followed these up, and at 11-50 Mr. Vaux and his party caught us up, as the tracks they had found led them to the *khârî* up which I had gone. Each of us (Mr. Vaux, Mr. Bonig and self) had four or more Andamanese and three policemen, leaving three policemen on the launch. Sharks were plentiful where we landed and the Andamanese shot two, one of which was killed, the other going off with two arrows in it. The one killed was about three feet long. Where Mr. Vaux had caught me up, the *khârî* branched. Mr. Vaux followed up the more southerly of the two streams, and I went up the northerly one.

The *khârî* I followed went generally north. My party crossed a ridge running north and south and came into another branch of the *khârî* and followed it up. On another ridge,

which we reached at 12-10 (noon), was the site of an old hunting camp, which had not been recently used.

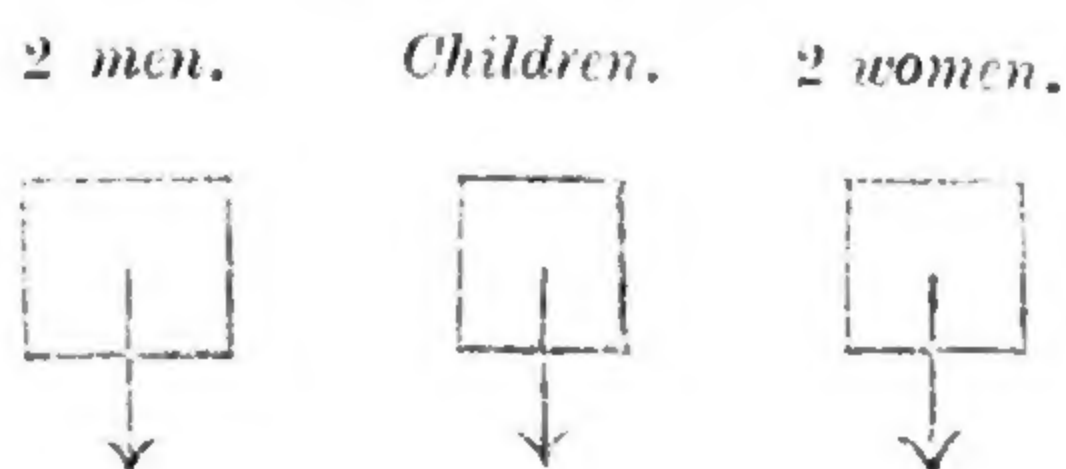
At half-past twelve we left the *khârî* and went through the forest on the eastern and southern flanks of the intersected point marked 677 (height in feet) on the map above referred to. We did not find any new tracks of Jàrawas until about 1 P.M., when we found some new tracks, including those of two young children, and following up these tracks came upon a fresh hunting camp, which had quite recently been left, as the fires were still burning. Flies were thick on the pieces of fish which had been thrown away and some cooked fish (whole) were found in the shelters in which the Jàrawas had slept, and this was eaten by our Andamanese. The pig's skulls were found and taken away. We followed up the fresh tracks from this camp and they took us back to the *khârî*, at the point where Mr. Vaux and myself had separated in the morning.

As it was late and I was very tired, not being very well, we returned to the boat, which we reached at 5-30 P.M. and waited till midnight for Mr. Vaux, who did not turn up. About 7 P.M. we heard the report of a gun, and thinking that perhaps Mr. Vaux had been benighted and was trying to find his way back to the boat, fired a shot in return and waited. About 9 P.M. we heard another shot, which we thought was nearer, so replied to it. The next shot we heard, about an hour afterwards, seemed to be further off, so after waiting till midnight, I decided to go off to the launch and return to the landing place at daylight. Reached launch at 1 A.M.

At that time I never dreamt of Mr. Vaux's having found any Jàrawas. I only thought he had been following up fresh tracks and had gone too far to return to the ship that night. About 8 P.M., while waiting for Mr. Vaux, we heard shouts to the north of us. The Andamanese suggested that the sounds were those of Jàrawas. I said I thought it was Mr. Bonig's party returning home, and on my return to the launch, I found Mr. Bonig there, and he told me that they had had to wade a good deal of the way home and had to shout to keep off sharks. He was up to his neck in the water and more than once was attacked by large sharks. The Andamanese would not come into the water and Mr. Bonig had to send for them after he had reached the launch. The tide was out when we landed. It was full when we returned, and so Mr. Bonig's boat was some way from the shore on his return. The Andamanese called the place we anchored a Bâjâluntâ.

Some poles at the camp we found had been cut with some cutting instrument, while a tree in the camp was hacked with what looked like (judging from the incisions made) an adze.

The camp consisted of three huts arranged thus :—



Arrows show entrance into huts.

The Andamanese said the camp had been occupied by two grown up men, two women and some children. The huts or shelters were about 5 feet long and 4 broad, and 4 feet high. They are made of a framework of sticks, some poles being bent down also and tied; leaves of a large palm cut with long stalks stuck into the ground, formed the back and roof of the huts. There were remains of fires inside the huts and in front of them and a considerable amount of white wood ash.

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